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THE SURVEY

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In this Issue

of

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REPORT of the Midcentury White House Conference

on

Children and Youth

Reprints of Special Section, reporting the Conference

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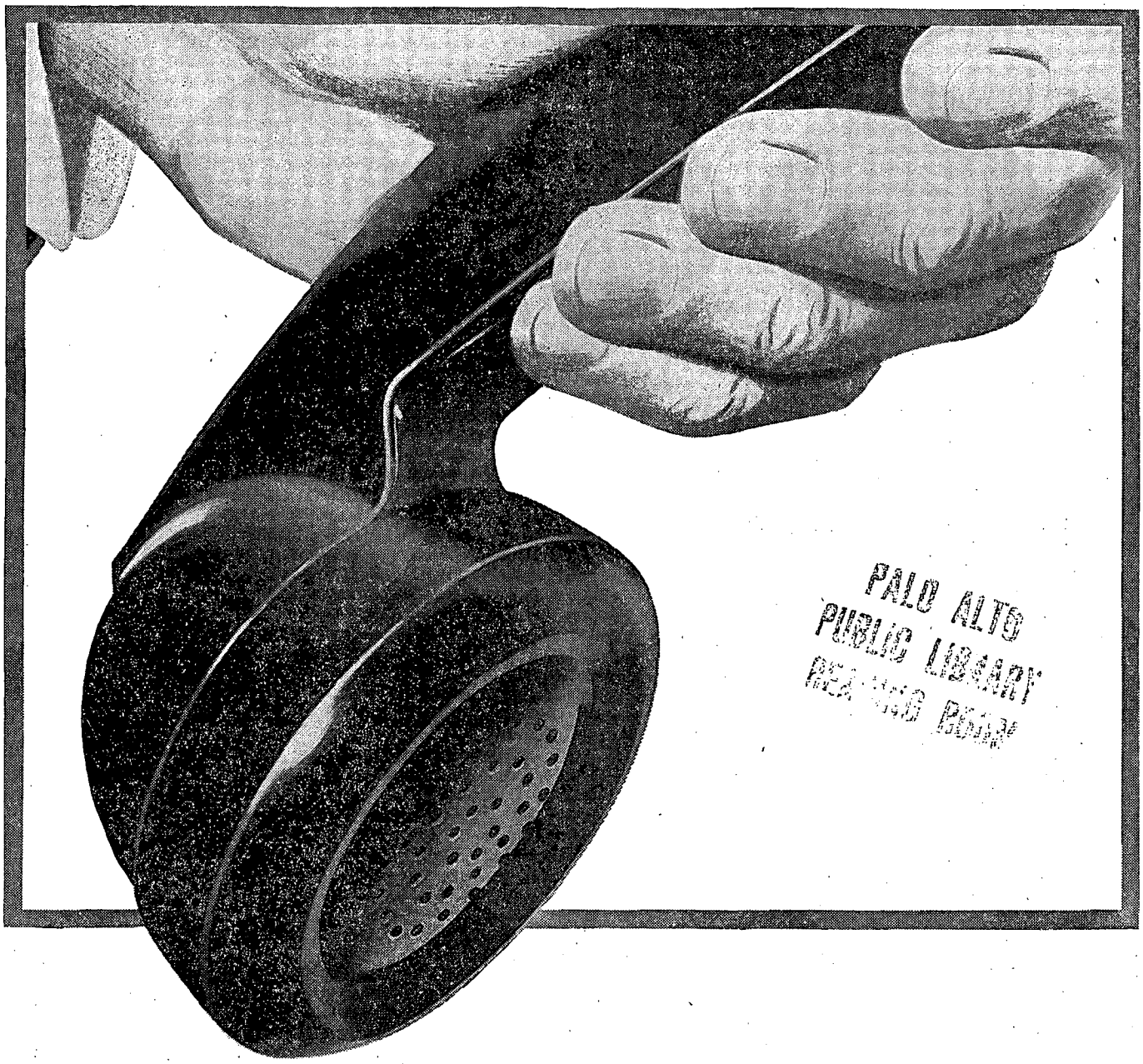

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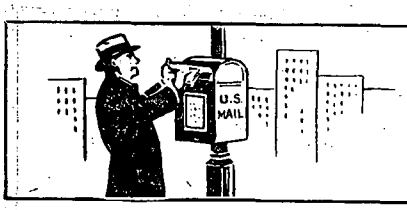

Survey Readers Write

MORE ABOUT TREE FARMS . . .

I was much interested in the story on Tree Farms in *The Survey* for November 1950.

There are many stories which can be told about the success of this program and the way it is spreading over the nation. Tree Farms are not confined to big industry timber holdings. These large concerns have learned the value of this program, so should be expected to take the lead in this plan of growing trees for continuous harvest of forest crops as many have been doing and their number is increasing. It is the increase in the number of individual owners of small tracts of timber of a few hundred acres, even less than a hundred, who have recognized the values to be gained in managing their woodlands as Tree Farms that is playing an important part in the success of this program.

One farmer I heard about has around 100 acres of timberland which he has operated as a Tree Farm for several years. In the past few years he has taken off three cash crops; one of poles, one of pulp wood, and one of fuel wood. He still has such a good stand of trees left that a casual glance would scarcely indicate there had been any logging. His remaining trees now grow faster than they would have in a dense stand. The opened spaces between trees permit new seedlings to get started. When his larger remaining trees are ready to cut for saw logs there will be a healthy stand of young trees growing up, protecting the land and providing future cash crops.

One basic principle behind the spread of the Tree Farm program, which perhaps few have mentioned, is that people do better and more creatively those things which produce satisfactions resulting from free choice and their own efforts than by being compelled to do so by law or dictatorial pressures. To those of us who see values in adopting certain policies long before others understand, it is a bit exasperating to have to put up with their slowness and we're tempted to use some kind of force. But isn't the better way, even though slower, to teach others by example and demonstration rather than by compulsion?

I should also like to comment briefly on the Valley Authority idea. Actually, we in the West have been making greater gains in natural resource development and conservation under existing government agencies—even though they have not cooperated with each other as well as they could—than is usually acknowledged. What is needed is better administration and perhaps some reorganization of those agencies now concerned with irrigation, power, minerals, fish, and forests. In a way, our problem may be likened to a disorganized office or plant wherein some competent people are running little independent shows. Such a condition isn't cured by setting up a new and bigger organization but only by proper reorganization from within. That has been done in private groups and could be done in public ones as well. EVERETT H. BARTON

Longview, Washington

Man's Enemies

Lifelong Friend of Man! "How fares it with you in this midnight hour"—when we kill, devastate, hate almost as if it were the chief duty of man? I know that we, including our poor terrified Government, are not consenting to the orgy of horror it ordains and we carry on not in the depths of our being! There, we do remember the natural decency, the friendly, humane selves temporarily repressed.

Can some of us be brave enough to say how we really feel about war? For if we do, others will speak up; public opinion is mighty and can bring back sanity and cure the epidemic cruelty of war. Can we show the U. S. that WAR itself is the enemy?

Who will raise the White Flag of "Friendship, Friendship without Stint or Limit," instead of Wilson's "War, war—"? If our hearts fly that One-World flag, our tongues and pens will enlist.

Philadelphia, Pa. SARAH N. CLEGHORN

[Every person of good will must share Miss Cleghorn's abhorrence of war. She in turn must share our equal horror at the prospect of the permanent stunting of man's glorious promise through the stifling of freedom by force and tyranny. Unfortunately, the free man's sorrowful dilemma seems to be that he must prepare himself to make a distasteful choice should the necessity arrive; his only hope, perhaps, that he may work continuously to ward off that necessity. While the United Nations lasts and stands firm against aggression, he still has a chance of finding a third way out.

Miss Cleghorn will be remembered by *Survey* readers for her many contributions to our pages and for her famous quatrain that first appeared in 1915 in F.P.A.'s Conning Tower in the *New York Tribune* and was later reprinted in *The Survey:*

> The golf links lie so near the mill
> That almost every day
> The laboring children can look out
> And see the men at play.

This verse gave a tremendous impetus to the movement against child labor, an evil which has been so greatly reduced since that day. It stands as a permanent reminder of the effectiveness of freedom of expression—one of the first freedoms to go down when tyranny prevails.—EDITORS]

Welcome Words

. . . I have been reading *The Survey* regularly every month, and in my opinion you are doing a remarkable job. I honestly do not know of any publication which prints as much substantial material on a regular basis as you. I only wish for the good of all of us your circulation was many times greater. We are living in very desperate times and the things that you are saying need more than ever to be said over and over again. CHESTER BOWLES

Executive Chambers
Hartford, Conn.

Some Corrections

To the Editor: Because I know historians quote *The Survey,* will you be good enough to note these corrections in "Union Teacher," published in the December 1950 issue.

1. Our highest peak of recorded class participants was 22,050 in 1937-38 and in the "mid-Thirties" the ILGWU membership was never as small as four times that number. Paid up membership in 1935 was 216,801; in 1936, 222,369; and in 1937, 253,646.

2. The new full-time Training Institute is independent of the Educational Department, although working in close cooperation.

3. The transitory work habits of the Puerto Rican workers in New York make exact statistics difficult, but a recent check puts the ratio at 10 percent, with the 50 percent mentioned in the article as nearly reached only in two of the smaller locals.

Another minor modification is to note that the early members used agencies additional to their union in the early days to fulfill their recreational and cultural needs. MARK STARR

Educational Director
International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

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New Year's Greeting

The cover picture this month is a symbol of the beauty and the promise of childhood, American children, the world's children. The frontispiece of this same issue symbolizes another child, the infant 1951, who sits there playing unconcernedly with his ghastly toys. Considering this terrifying baby, we can only realize that it is we ourselves who put these playthings in his reach, and we who stand to suffer if inept hands fumble them into hideous activity. We pray it is not already too late to snatch them away. It is only in the hope that somehow mankind may find the wisdom—even now—to turn 1951 from death to life, from war to peace, that we can hail one another with the time-honored greeting—Happy New Year!

★ ★ ★

NO RECENT GATHERING seems to have stirred such profound, nationwide interest as the recent Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth, of which this issue carries the first detailed report. Evidence of this interest is the fact that before this issue went on the press, *The Survey* had received orders for some 25,000 copies of the reprint of the special sixteen-page section, which begins on page 17, and which is made up of several articles.

JOSEPHINE GOLDMARK, who died last month at the age of 73, was one of that group of great women whose names mean so much to the welfare field — Jane Addams, Julia Lathrop, Mrs. Florence Kelley, Mary Richmond, and others. Her outstanding work was on behalf of protective legislation for women earners, notably as research director of the National Consumers League, and in cooperation with her brother-in-law, the late Louis D. Brandeis, in preparing the briefs for test cases of social legislation. Miss Goldmark's final work was a biography of her friend and fellow-worker, Mrs. Florence Kelley.

Vol. LXXXVII
No. 1

THE SURVEY

January 1951

Cover: Painting by Erik G. Haupt

Liberty or Fear—The Final Choice ..... James Avery Joyce 7
Indians' Banker ..... Joseph Stocker 11
Folkland As Nation Maker ..... Benton MacKaye 14

✦ ✦ ✦

A Special Section
Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth

Youth in Today's World: Conference Report ..... Kathryn Close 17
Moving Ahead ..... Melvin A. Glasser 25
What Bends the Twig? ..... Marion Robinson 27
Gist of Recommendations 31
Pledge to Children 32

✦ ✦ ✦

Conference Personalities 33
The Common Welfare
Public Welfare Faces Forward ..... Gertrude Springer 34
Letters and Life
Searchlight on the Schools ..... Ordway Tead 39
Other New Books 40

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A GOOD DEAL has been bandied about in recent years to the effect that the *psyche* and the *soma* should come in for equal attention in the diagnosis and treatment of illness. With the establishment of a division of social medicine (which includes also social services) on a par with clinical and laboratory divisions, New York City's Montefiore Hospital has now put the idea into operation. The plan, first of its kind in the country, was worked out under the leadership of Dr. E. M. Bluestone, the Hospital's director, who has reported twice recently to *Survey* readers about other innovations in the hospital world. (See "Medical Care — A Community Plan," March 1949; "Home Care—An Extramural Hospital Function," *Survey Midmonthly,* April, 1948.)

THE EAST HARLEM Protestant Parish celebrated its second anniversary last month, and the Rev. Donald Benedict, the first full time pastor, was able to tell a stirring story of growth in numbers and enthusiasm. (This work on behalf of the thousands of people crowded into New York City's worst slum area was described in an article in the July *Survey,* "Laboratory for Theologians," by Robert L. Hough.) Mr. Benedict recalled that the initial service of the parish had a congregation of two. Today, the parish has an average Sunday attendance of 200. In addition to a made-over chapel, it has four "centers" in disused stores. The staff has grown to three full time ministers, two women co-pastors, four part time workers, including a doctor and a nurse, and a score of volunteers, many of them students at Union Theological Seminary. The parish carries on a program of varied activities, including in addition to religious services and Bible classes, clubs for girls and boys, athletics, outings, and a women's club.

THE PICTURE on the cover of this issue is by the distinguished New York painter, Erik G. Haupt. It is a portrait of the artist's son.

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Liberty or Fear.... the Final Choice

For no one on earth today can there be freedom without peace; or peace without effective world government: the supreme challenge of our times.

JAMES AVERY JOYCE

THE DILEMMA OF CIVIL LIBERTIES TODAY PRESENTS NO easy escape. The current issue is: How can individuals and organizations suspected of being "subversive" be handled by the authorities without sacrificing democratic freedom?

Let it be postulated at once that the solution cannot be found within national boundaries. The present article, at the risk of appearing idealistic, appeals for a more drastic reorientation of individual thinking and community action than has yet been evoked by the crisis.

By way of introduction, perhaps an English observer may venture to point out two significant differences—or divergent tendencies—between the British and American experience in this field during the last few years. As virtually every signature at the foot of the Declaration of Independence of 1776 and of the Constitution of 1787 can easily be recognized as a British family name, and as William Blackstone's "Institutes" were as eagerly read and followed on this side of the Atlantic as in England, frankness between inheritors of a common tradition of law may be presumed.

In the first place, it cannot be doubted from the evidence—though this assertion may surprise those whose knowledge of current British affairs is derived mainly from American newspapers—that civil liberty stands higher in Britain now than at any time since the end of the war. Taking full account of the fact that the law relating to treason, espionage, and "official secrets" has been strengthened as a result of wartime exigencies, it is nevertheless true that, today, individual freedom of expression, movement, and association is more taken for granted among British people than anywhere else in the world. The extreme rarity of "subversive" cases in the Courts; the impeccable standards of judicial procedure observed when treasonable cases (for example, the Fuchs case) do occur; the strictly limited character of the administrative measures taken to remove "undesirables" from defense departments to less crucial positions; the sense of responsibility normally exercised by the majority of the press; the relentless scrutiny of a grass roots parliament over an executive, a cabinet which sits on the front bench of the House of Commons—these are some of the blessings enjoyed by a society which feels itself secure within, however the storm may rage without. The war proved that, and the "peace" is proving it even more. Anything resembling a "Freedom Crusade" would be derided everywhere in Britain as a form of whistling in the dark to keep up one's courage.

If the question be asked: "Then how do you deal with the Commies?" an unmistakable answer is available—though it seems curiously to have escaped special notice in the U. S. newspapers, which are usually so "liberal" in their coverage of Communist discomfortures. At the British General Election last February, when just over 600 seats were contested, 100 Communist Party candidates stood for Parliament. The Communist plan was of course, to weaken the Labor Party, even at the expense of getting Conservatives in on a split "left" vote, since communism thrives on confusion and reaction. The Communists had all the facilities, official and otherwise, accorded to Conservative, Labor, and other party candidates. British electoral law is absolutely impartial, uniform, and rigidly enforced. The press, the radio, and other avenues of publicity were available to all candidates alike. Everything was "above board." And the result? *Every one* of the Communist candidates was defeated—even the two incumbents. Well-known fellow traveler Laborites (such as D. N. Pritt, K. Zilliacus, and J. Platts-Mills) also were thrown out. Moreover, nearly every C.P. candidate lost his "deposit," that is to say, he was so badly defeated that he forfeited the sum (about $600) which each candidate, of any or no party, is required to deposit as a guarantee that he considers he has a *bona fide* chance of receiving

✦

—By a British barrister and educator, an authority on international law who, during the past three years, has been a guest lecturer on the campuses of Chicago, Denver, California, and other American universities.

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at least one eighth of the votes cast. Since February, 1950—apart from occasional official blunders, such as the much criticized banning of some of the foreign delegates to the Sheffield "Peace Congress" in November—the British people have not worried over-much about communism as an internal question. And this peace of mind has had a steadying influence on foreign policy as well. They, the people, had put communism in its rightful place. Democracy had been tried, and not found wanting.

The second difference (which may help to explain what happened last February) lies in the deeper content which is given to democracy in Britain. The ballot box, far from being the end of democracy, is merely its beginning. In five years, coping with the unprecedented readjustments of the aftermath of a second World War that shattered and ruined most of Europe and much of Asia, the Labor Government has succeeded beyond all expectation—at least to the satisfaction of the *majority* of 50,000,000 British citizens—in demonstrating that political democracy can be used, if the will is there, as a viable instrument of economic rehabilitation and social regeneration.

It would carry us too far afield to try to assess the importance to the world of the experiments in democratic socialism in which the British have been so strenuously engaged during this difficult trial-and-error period. But it may not immodestly be claimed that the British who, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, were pioneers of political democracy, have now moved with the times into a new phase of economic democracy.

THIS IMPLIED SUPERIORITY OF THE BRITISH ATTITUDE toward civil liberties as an evolving and creative citizenship may be resented by some readers as being unfair to the American way of life. But the challenge of the new social democracies of Europe is not to be taken lightly, and goes to the source of the prevailing *malaise* which is blocking American world leadership today. It was Thomas Hill Green who pointed out, in his "Principles of Political Obligation," two generations ago, that freedom is the capacity of the individual to make the best of himself, and that the supreme function of the state is to remove the hindrances which prevent the realization of the "good life" on the part of its citizens.

Even if the appeal to past theory may be contradicted, the appeal to present fact is undeniable. Geographically, the people of Britain are today in an incomparably more dangerous position, *vis-a-vis* the communist threat, than are the people of the United States. The USA is still separated from war-wracked Eurasia by two wide oceans, and possesses a wealth of material peace resources and potential defense power far beyond anything the world has ever before seen. When this is capped by the declared intention to use the untold terror of atomic weapons against any attacker, the United States would seem to be the safest country in the world.

In spite of this, it appears to the intelligent observer that civil rights are in greater jeopardy in America than in practically any one of the "Western democracies" of Europe, which, we are told, are living immediately under the advancing shadow of the Iron Curtain. The probes, witch hunts, loyalty oaths, and pathetic paraphernalia of guilt by association and trial by slander—which, to the whole outside world, are gradually being looked upon as part and parcel of the normal American way of life—point to something more endemically unsound than anything the last five years' quarrel with Moscow could have produced. When this feverish and fumbling endeavor to stamp out "subversives" is dubbed a "Fight for Freedom," men of goodwill in all democratic lands sigh with John Stuart Mill: "O Liberty, what crimes are committed in thy name!"

PASSING NOW TO THE PRIMARY CONTENTION THAT THE threat of civil liberties—even within those nations which have already democratized their social systems—demands a global strategy to overcome it, it still is possible to turn for guidance to that great modernist, John Locke. Father alike of the 1688 Revolution in England and the 1776 Revolution in America, Locke's teaching underlay much of our respective Bills of Rights, which set the pattern for the Liberal Age. The pity of it is that there seems to be no John Locke living at this hour who could adequately pen that "Essay on Toleration," upon the foundations of which a truly civil world government might arise. Equally lacking in this generation, when the free air is tremulous with Deep answering unto Deep, the Voice of America outshouting the Voice of Pravda, is that still small voice of the "Essay on Human Understanding," which underpinned all that Locke wrote on politics. Yet, turning again, as our forebears have so often and so fruitfully done, to that matchless Second Treatise, "Concerning the True End of Civil Government," a new light breaks across the void.

John Locke employed the direct language of Thomas Hobbes when he asserted that government was the only cure for anarchy, that there could be no liberty without law. But Locke went further. Unlike Hobbes, he insisted that it is not only bad men who need government to bring them together, but that good men need government no less, if they are to live in peace. The syllogism runs: Without government, no security; without security, no freedom. "I easily grant," he gently insisted, "that civil government is the proper remedy for the inconveniences of the state of Nature."

Yet the "inconveniences of the state of Nature," with every man acting as his own judge and executive, had not in Locke's time reached the cynical proportions recently propounded in a daily newspaper to the effect that "the decision for war [against China], now as in the past, must be a *national* decision, and, for all the effect the UN would have upon it, the international organization might as well not exist." Locke rejected such barbarism and went to the heart of the modern dilemma. Some of his words, published in 1690, may well be taken as a vantage ground from which a new approach to our related problems of security and liberty may be made:

"It is unreasonable for men to be judges in their own cases; self-love will make men partial to themselves and their friends; and, on the other side, ill-nature, passion, and revenge will carry them too far in punishing others, and hence, nothing but confusion and disorder will follow; and, therefore, God hath certainly appointed government to restrain the partiality and violence of men."

There is not space here to present the general case for true world government; and certainly not to deal with that easy escape-question: "What about Russia?" which has become almost an American phobia, stifling intelli-

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gent discussion on practically every international topic that comes up. The main arguments for switching over foreign policy from anarchy to government have already been adequately presented to the American public by a number of writers, including Emery Reves in "The Anatomy of Peace," Cord Meyer in "Peace or Anarchy," Vernon Nash in "The World Must Be Governed," and the late Carl Van Doren in "The Great Rehearsal." The remainder of this article will attempt only to supplement such appeals to reason by a brief summary of some of the legal and institutional steps already being taken internationally, on the official level, or which are beginning to appear in the unofficial plans for establishing a supranational agency by means of which civil liberties may be safeguarded and extended to all the peoples of the earth.

If this one-world approach be considered too unrealistic to merit serious response, then let the reader pause for a moment to weigh the following three basic propositions against the alternative "realistic" preparations now being pursued by the great powers for cosmic annihilation:

I. *The present critical condition of civil liberty is not a temporary phase, but a chronic disorder in the relations of citizen and state.*

In other words, we are on a slippery slope which leads only downward—unless we get off it. Each new "loyalty" restraint fastened on the citizen, each new ideological investigation, each new outlawry statute, instead of suppressing sedition and increasing security, throws up more bitter dissensions and undermines public confidence in the government which resorts to such measures. If the history of the last few years has not taught us this, it will never teach us anything. When the blunt Samuel Johnson, in one of those unexpected utterances which shake us out of our complacency, declared that "Patriotism is the last resort of the scoundrel," he might well have anticipated that final degradation of statecraft which is summed up in the phrase, "World War III."

II. *Human loyalty can no longer be confined within the boundaries of the nation-state, but must express itself toward all mankind.*

Unless men and women are allowed to exercise their common humanity in a twentieth century manner toward their fellows in all other lands, they will either remain neurotic half-citizens, or find spurious outlets for their moral and religious principles. Communism, which claims to be a universal creed, offers a poor substitute for the real thing—that is why it stalks everywhere in the guise of a violent nationalism. But Satan cannot cast out Satan, and "good" nationalism is no antidote for "bad" nationalism. Human loyalty means essentially translating democracy into world terms. The recent World Congress on Mental Health summed up, in a unanimous report, the real remedy for the peril of the split atom—namely, heal the split mind! This Congress declared: "The concept of world citizenship implies loyalty to the whole of mankind. Such new loyalty need not conflict with, but rather embraces traditional loyalties to family, community, and nation, which alone are no longer sufficient for the protection of the interdependent peoples of the world."

III. *World government (replacing today's international anarchy) will not drop from the sky ready-made, but is even now being fashioned by many hands to meet many needs.*

That is why so many public bodies and voluntary groups are today, consciously or unconsciously, merging their efforts toward the creation of those new institutions upon which not only the preservation of human rights, but human survival itself depends. These are only beginnings, but the trends are encouraging. On the international plane, there are, first of all, the functional agencies of the UN. There are also various voluntary movements, such as the forty-nation program of the World Movement for World Federal Government. On the national level there are less conspicuous programs, which nevertheless represent much earnest and intelligent effort, for example, the educational campaigns of the United World Federalists in the USA and the active intervention in foreign policy debates of the Parliamentary Group for World Government (presided over by Lord Boyd Orr) in Britain. On a local basis, one may cite the proclamation of over two hundred French towns and villages as "world territories." All these are instances of official and non-official action, which is daily bringing Locke's ideal closer to earth, and furthering a new psychological and administrative framework within which the liberties of all dwellers on our planet may be augmented.

These three pointers may help us view the crisis of civil liberty in longer term perspective and to seek for its cure within the broader context of international unity. Liberty will not be saved by repeating *ad nauseam* what Lincoln or Gladstone said in the 1850's; but liberty can be re-won by erecting those international institutions in the 1950's which will aid men to make the best of themselves as members of the world society, as well as citizens of their own lands.

Let us look briefly, then, at how the UN and its associated organs are contributing, however imperfectly, to this wider liberty; and, finally, let us glance at some of the proposals for increasing liberty which are now being advocated to transform the present UN into an effective world government.

It is easy, living as we do under a tyranny of war psychosis, to overlook the less spectacular achievements of the positive peace-making functional organs—such as the Trusteeship Council and the International Labor Organization—which, for a quarter of a century or longer, have been reaching through the hard shells of our national sovereignties and touching the daily lives of millions of the earth's unknown citizens. No one who (like the present writer) has frequently sat in at Geneva and at Lake Success, while the Trusteeship Council—or its predecessor, the Mandates Commission—has struggled with the individual hardship case of some obscure petitioner in a remote village of Africa, or while the ILO Conference has put the finishing touches to a Draft Convention affecting the working conditions of factory workers or peasants scattered across three score or more countries, can have any doubt that these supranational agencies of human welfare are becoming the creative instruments of the "rights of man."

But, when we speak of the international protection of human rights, our minds usually turn to three intergovernmental accomplishments which, taken together, have laid the foundation of a truly world law. These are, first, the International Court at The Hague (whose lineage goes back to the Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907); second, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which has just celebrated its second anniversary on "Human Rights Day," December 10; and, third, the Genocide Convention which recently became international law, when the twentieth nation ratified it.

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The latter two achievements, of course, are as yet only in the documentary stage; and, to that extent, may be put alongside the earlier Geneva Red Cross and similar international conventions which, as codes of individual or group protection rather than enforcement machinery, are constitutional landmarks in the agelong struggle to mitigate "man's inhumanity to man."

The Genocide Convention will come into force on January 12, 1951. The contracting parties have undertaken to bring to trial individuals charged with the crime of genocide, (that is, "acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group") either by a competent state tribunal in the territory in which the act was committed or "by such international penal tribunal as may have jurisdiction." It would be invidious to attempt to appraise the permanent value of this and other recent developments in international conventional law. Are these merely scraps of paper, a façade of security which will crumble to dust at some future A-bomb explosion? No one knows; but, "if hopes were dupes, fears may be liars." And the writer's present purpose will be served if he draws the circle of inquiry wide enough to include the will to live of untold millions whose hope of freedom is now being written into these transworld chapters of a new Magna Charta for all mankind.

More immediately at issue is the proposed Human Rights Covenant, which had such a stormy passage at the last session of the UN Assembly. The civil rights set forth in the present draft of the proposed Covenant are the right to live; protection against torture, slavery, forced labor, arbitrary arrest, and imprisonment for breach of contract; freedom to leave a country and to return to one's own country; right to legal recognition in the courts; right to a fair public hearing by an impartial tribunal and to be presumed innocent until proved guilty; protection against *ex post facto* law; and freedom of religion, expression, assembly, and association. Any state ratifying the Covenant undertakes to insure these rights to all individuals within its territory without distinction of race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, birth or social origin, property, or other status. This Covenant will be binding on the states which ratify it; but the UN Commission on Human Rights already has spent three years trying to agree on the text, and new provisions are still being pressed upon the Commission.

Unlike the earlier Declaration, the Covenant will be an enforceable legal instrument and involves (Article 19) the setting up of a judicial tribunal to try infringements. Hence, state sovereignty is definitely challenged and, as might be expected, every possible national obstacle is being thrown in the way of the Covenant becoming a reality. Civil rights associations, in those countries where they exist, could not be better advised than to put their united weight into getting these proposals studied, improved, and publicized, and to speed their governments into ratifying them. For civil liberty, we now realize, is one and indivisible.

In this connection, it should be recalled that, meeting in Rome last November (1950), twelve out of the fourteen national delegations attending the Foreign Ministers' Committee of the Council of Europe—namely, Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Ireland, Iceland, Luxembourg, West Germany, and Turkey—signed a Convention on Human Rights, based on principles similar to those of the UN draft, in which they agreed to:

1. Set up a European Commission of Human Rights, to which complaints could be made and which could investigate;

2. Set up a European Court of Human Rights, to decide disputed points (if eight states agree).

It is important to note, however, that only States can be parties to the proposed UN Covenant and are entitled to file complaints, for the UN Commission rejected the right of individuals and associations to petition with respect to violations of the Covenant. However, this decision has been hotly contested and is again under study.

We come finally, therefore, to consider some of the means proposed for implementing civil rights under a federal government of the world. Whether the political machinery which finally sets up such an authority operates through an Amending Conference, convened under Article 109 of the UN Charter, or through a World Constituent Assembly, convened outside the UN, a World Constitution and probably other instruments of "fundamental law" will need to be drafted, agreed to by the parties concerned, and then ratified, presumably, by national parliaments and the UN Assembly—though considerations of space prohibit an excursion into this fascinating field.

One of the most careful and imaginative proposals yet published as a contribution to this noble purpose was the "Preliminary Draft" put forward three years ago by a group of distinguished social scientists, under the chairmanship of Chancellor Robert Hutchins of the University of Chicago. This Preliminary Draft deserves much wider study and discussion than it has yet received, here in the USA and elsewhere. It gives prime place to a "Declaration of Duties and Rights," but confines these to a few general principles centered on the Golden Rule. Yet it implements these principles specifically by proposing two novel institutions, in addition to a Supreme Court of wide competence: that is to say, a "Grand Tribunal" and a "Tribune of the People."

Justice cannot be done here to the sweeping character of these proposed universal guardians of the civil liberty of all the world's citizens. But a study of this remarkable "proposal to history," as its co-authors term it, fires the imagination with the depth of its research and the breadth of its understanding. Of course, no one in his senses would suppose that a constitution of this order could "happen" overnight or that the nations are ready to adopt such a beneficent revolution in the immediately foreseeable future. But here is a banner around which wise and honest men are gathering in country after country. The future of civil liberty depends on how widely and how swiftly the "freedom loving peoples" of this distraught earth insist on their fundamental right to think and act as citizens of the world; and, as such, to build those international institutions which alone will establish man's right to live as master of his fate, instead of as a cowering animal hiding in holes in the earth to escape the doom which his own preventable folly will otherwise bring upon him.

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McLaughlin, Phoenix

Indians' Banker

How an adopted American is helping preserve the traditions and the rituals of the earliest American culture — a *Survey* close-up.

JOSEPH STOCKER

IT WAS A STRANGE REQUEST WHICH RECENTLY REACHED ODD S. Halseth, city archaeologist of Phoenix—or, at least, it would have seemed strange to anyone else.

The request came from the people of Isleta, an Indian pueblo just south of Albuquerque, New Mexico. They would appreciate it, they said, if Halseth would have a wax record cut from a wire recording of a certain Isleta chant and send it to them. They wanted to practice the chant and the last tribesman who knew it had died.

Halseth happily obliged. Here, without a penny changing hands, was his payoff (the only kind of payoff he ever wanted) for more than a quarter century of friendship with the Indians of the Southwest. Of late, that friendship has cast him in the role of banker to the Indians—not a banker of their money, but of their chants and ancient rituals.

Since the end of World War II, when the wire recorder first reached the commercial market, Halseth has been ranging the Indian country in his spare time, collecting these chants. He has pursued his extraordinary avocation not as a tourist or connoisseur accumulates Indian souvenirs; he records the chants because the Indians ask him to do so.

For the Indians realize sadly that their traditional chants are vanishing. Never written down—not even susceptible of being written, in fact, since most of the Indian languages are only spoken languages—they first were driven underground by the white man's disapproval of Indian "paganisms." Finally, they were in danger of being lost forever as the elder tribesmen died off.

But some of the Indians are sensitive to the richness of their culture and loath to see it wither away. They are the ones who have asked Halseth to serve as their "banker." So far, he has recorded 200 chants of thirteen tribes, approximately twenty hours of playing time.

This is by no means the only service which Halseth has rendered the Indians since he settled among them in the early 1920's, a quiet, studious Norwegian with a conviction that all people are fundamentally alike, whatever their mode of life or the color of their skin.

"I'd bet my store," said a veteran Arizona Indian trader recently, "that there's no single individual in the Southwest who has done more practical good for the Indians than Odd Halseth has."

Often Halseth has helped the Indians prepare for their fiestas. He has settled disputes between factions. Once he saved from death a young Indian who had spied on a meeting of a secret society.

At another time Halseth was able to serve both the Indians and a puzzled Washington which had not managed to fathom their diffident ways. The U. S. Indian Service had established a hospital at Albuquerque, but the Indians avoided it, no matter how sick they were.

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—By a western free-lance magazine writer, formerly a newspaperman in Phoenix, Arizona, and Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

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The physician in charge asked Halseth's help.

He persuaded an aged Indian and his wife, both blind from cataracts, to submit to operations at the hospital. The surgery was successful. In a short time, the couple returned to their pueblo. There the bandages were removed and they saw their grandchildren for the first time. Soon the hospital had to be enlarged.

Nor are Halseth's wire recordings confined to chants. One that he made in 1948 is the documentary claim of an Indian family to a piece of land in a New Mexico pueblo. The family had been driven away in a religious quarrel and the father, unable to read or write, wanted his claim put on record, in the hope that eventually his children might return to their ancestral home. The little wire spool asserting their right to that land is now on file with the Museum of New Mexico at Santa Fé.

Halseth would deny, with some embarrassment, that he has done these things for the Indians out of any urge to be a good Samaritan. His impulse has been mainly that of simple respect and fondness for a proud, dignified people washed aside in the tidal movement of a white man's civilization. No small factor in Halseth's work among the Indians has been his archaeological curiosity about a race whose roots are the roots of America.

HALSETH IS A SMALL, SLIGHTLY BUILT MAN, HIS FACE A mosaic of lines acquired in years spent roaming the sun-drenched Indian country. His English is fluent and scholarly, but he speaks with a slight Norwegian accent. This underscores the quality of gentle irony in the kinship between Odd Halseth and the Indians—a bond which joins America's first citizens with a man who is not a native but an adopted American.

Halseth was born fifty-seven years ago in Norway, the son of an inspector of schools. His only encounter with Indians was in Norwegian translations of Buffalo Bill and Nick Carter. His plan was to devote his life to gadgets instead of people, prehistoric or otherwise. He studied in Germany for a career in electrical engineering, then decided suddenly he was more interested in people than machines. He quit, came to the U. S. and headed west.

"When I got to the country of the desert Indians," he says, "I knew that was my field."

At Santa Fé, he worked with the Museum of New Mexico, maintained by the School of American Research. It was during this time that the friendship developed between Halseth and the Indians—the friendship that was to make him not only the keeper of their chants but the beneficiary of a faith which they repose in few white men.

This was slow in coming, for the Indians had learned to be aloof and distrustful. "You're always on trial until they accept you," Halseth says.

His first test occurred at Acoma, a pueblo perched on the top of a high mesa. Halseth went there in behalf of an archbishop's committee for the restoration of old Spanish missions. One of the missions was located at Acoma, but before any work could be done there, the consent of the Indians had to be obtained.

They turned out to be antagonistic, and Halseth soon learned the reason. One of his fellow workers at the Santa Fé museum had visited Acoma and used a pass key to enter the mission, without first securing permission from the Indians. The mere fact that Halseth was from the same museum made him equally guilty of trespass in the eyes of the citizens of Acoma.

"You broke into our church," one of them shouted, shaking a fist in his face.

"This is my first visit to Acoma," Halseth demurred. "Another man from my museum did that."

"Same thing," the Indian insisted.

Halseth, manifesting his streak of Scandinavian stubbornness, decided to fight Indian logic with Indian logic. He pointed an accusing finger at the pueblo dweller and said, "You killed a man in Albuquerque."

That jarred the Indian. "No," he protested. "I not kill anybody." But Halseth pressed on: "A man from your pueblo is in jail for killing a man in Albuquerque. If I'm responsible for the thing that someone from my museum did, then you're responsible for what a member of your pueblo did in Albuquerque."

There was some muttered palaver among the Indians, then, "That makes sense," one of them admitted. They relaxed and invited Halseth to eat with them.

This in itself was a test of his adaptability. Dinner was laid out on the floor and consisted of tortillas and stew, the latter served in a large bowl from which everybody ate without benefit of soap or spoon.

"It was an ordeal," says Halseth, wincing a little at the recollection, "but I guess I passed. The Indians agreed to the restoration of the mission and from then on I haven't had any better friends than the people of that pueblo."

Halseth holds that the key to friendship with the Indians—however aloof and primitive they may be—is simple honesty.

"Treat them as human beings, not as Indians, nor as specimens," he suggests. "Don't flatter them unless flattery is due, but don't kowtow to them."

His approach has been effective. Not only Halseth but every member of his family has an Indian name, ceremonially bestowed by various tribes and pueblos. The Cochiti Indians adopted Mrs. Halseth many years ago and named her *Hena'shitz* (Gentle Rain); their son, Eddie, is *Henati-tina* (Big Cloud Boy) and Eddie's son, Harold, is *Ka'ascthia* (Rainbow Boy).

Halseth himself is known among the people of the Zia pueblo in New Mexico as *Ko'pishtem* (Man With the High Forehead), but the people of the Santa Clara pueblo call him *Puye Kanakiaia*. That dates from a visit he made years ago to the Santa Clara pueblo to hire Indians for excavation work on a cliff dwelling called Puye.

The Indians believed spirits lived in Puye and they feared to go there after dark. One night Halseth camped in the cliff dwelling and amused himself by singing and beating out his own accompaniment on an Indian drum. When he came down the next morning, he learned that the Indians had taken his "music" as proof that spirits did indeed dwell in Puye. Only with some effort did he persuade them that he was the "spirit" they had heard. Forthwith he became known as *Puye Kanakiaia* (the Spirit of Puye), demonstrating, it would seem, that an Indian, too, can enjoy a joke on himself.

SOMETIMES THIS DRY INDIAN HUMOR HAS A BITE TO IT. Halseth tells of an officious politician who wangled an appointment as an Indian agency superintendent. He had a habit of pacing the floor with his hands in his pockets, vigorously rattling his keys.

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Presently the superintendent decided to ask the Indians for a name, so he could boast about it to his eastern relatives. The tribe held a ceremony, then returned to inform him of the name they had given him. The superintendent proudly reported to his kinfolk back East. Not until later did he think to ask its meaning.

The Indians hesitated at first. Finally they confessed.

"It means," said one of them, stammering a little, " 'The One Who Scratches His Belly When He Walks.' "

The superintendent was outraged. "It's a lie!" he bellowed, and ordered the Indians to change the name forthwith. They returned shortly with a new name.

"Now, wait a minute," said the suspicious superintendent. "What does this one mean?"

"It means," they said, " 'The One Who Does Not Scratch His Belly When He Walks.' "

Halseth has found that the Indians will go to some pains to avoid offending a white man they respect. He remembers when some of his friends were teaching him one of their ritual dances. The rhythms were strange and he made a rather awkward pupil. Intermittently, he noticed, the proceedings would come to a halt while all the Indians went outside.

Finally Halseth asked for an explanation.

"They don't want to hurt your feelings," an Indian said.

"What do you mean?" asked Halseth.

The Indian explained, with solemn politeness, "They go outside to laugh."

Over the years, Halseth has learned not only the dances of the Indians but many of their languages. Thus he can understand the chants which he records and, like the Indians themselves, he derives much pleasure from this weird music.

To the untrained ear, however, the chants sound like meaningless gibberish, and literal translation is almost impossible. "You could make a free translation of a chant," says Halseth, "but then you would lose its meaning unless you know the Indian mind and how it works."

ILLUSTRATING THE SUBTLETIES OF THE INDIAN TONGUES, Halseth tells of his early tutelage when he first reached the West. His instructor was an elderly Indian. It was late in the autumn. As they roamed the countryside, the old man gave his pupil the Indian names for various trees, bushes, and plants, and Halseth memorized them.

When they returned the following spring, Halseth, with considerable pride, identified each tree by the Indian name he had learned. But the old man shook his head impatiently. Halseth was baffled.

"That's what you called them last fall," he reminded his teacher.

The Indian pointed to a particular tree. "Did that tree look like that last fall?" he demanded.

"No," Halseth admitted.

"Well," said the Indian, "it has a different name now."

And then the white man realized that each tree and shrub has a different name for each of the four seasons.

Even with his knowledge of Indian languages and ways, Halseth's chant recording expeditions have not always run smoothly. Now and then he has found himself balked by the rigid *mores* of a proud and resolute people bent on doing things their own way.

He once was invited to an Arizona reservation to record some chants. One of them was known only by an aged Indian, who though desperately ill, was still able to sing it. But this he flatly refused to do—it was a winter chant, and this was midsummer. Halseth left. When he returned the next winter, the old Indian was dead and the chant forever lost.

The Indians are perfectionists—as insistent on flawless performances as the most exacting opera director. Often a recording will go on for fifteen minutes or more, when suddenly the chanters stop.

"What's wrong?" asks Halseth, who has heard nothing amiss.

"He said the wrong word," replies one of the Indians, indicating another in the group.

"Nobody will notice."

"Oh, yes," scornfully. "We notice."

And then the performance must start all over again.

Halseth travels with his wife and a carload of equipment when he makes his chant-collecting excursions. Mr. and Mrs. Halseth live with the Navajos in their dome-shaped mud-and-log "hogans," the Apaches in their brush-covered "wickieups," and the pueblo dwellers of New Mexico in their bare adobe houses.

Visitors to Pueblo Grande in Phoenix may hear some of the chants played back if they desire—but not all. Some are the property of secret clans or societies. The Indians who belong to these ritual groups never perform their chants for white men, and Halseth, as their keeper, feels that he would be violating his trust were he to do so.

HE HAS ANOTHER RECORDING WHICH IS NOT A CHANT. It is the translation of a short speech given at a recent Indian Congress by an old man from one of the reservations. It reveals a people who, despite poverty and misfortune, have found serenity in an age of atomic tensions. It shows a depth of wisdom, pride, compassion, and civilized intelligence which scarcely jibes with the all-too-popular conception of southwestern Indians as a backward pagan race. And it explains, as well as anything can, why Odd Halseth has chosen them for his friends.

The old man spoke in opposition to a resolution proposing general relief for all Indians in the U. S. His dark, deeply seamed features were set and he held himself rigidly erect, in unassailable self-respect.

"I oppose this resolution because we don't need general relief. We do get a little short sometimes, but our dignity lies in the fact that we can look every man in the eye and are able to sustain ourselves on the same level with him.

"It should be for us to give relief to our white brothers. Thank God, we are only physically undernourished sometimes, whereas our nation and the world live in a sad state of spiritual malnutrition. Each man looks upon the other with fear, and each nation is trying to build a bigger bomb to destroy more human beings than the other.

"When such things are evident, we think that the world needs spiritual nourishment and political wisdom and that we Indians should offer to help with whatever contributions we can make, rather than to ask for relief for ourselves.

"We may be able to give our white brothers something which is of permanent value, to the world, and to ourselves as well."

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IV. Folkland As Nation Maker

BENTON MACKAYE

ALONG WITH ITS MANIFEST EXCELLENCIES, JEFFERSON'S Northwest folkland plan contained the seeds of two baffling defects. One abomination was the layout of boundaries for the five incipient states. That was a simple, straight, and scientific system smacking of the surveyor's rod and glass but resulting, of all things, in a complex, crooked, unscientific hodgepodge. It may have been a necessary initial clay model but should have been brought to earth and corrected before it hardened.

This straightjacket for the new states, with a closer mesh of rectangular counties and townships, emanated obviously from the old British grants. Its deficiencies had been recognized even in colonial days.

COCKEYED BOUNDARIES

"TO SETTLE THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS," WROTE Francis Barnard, Governor of Massachusetts Colony, in 1764, "it will be necessary to reduce the number of them, . . . and in general to divide by natural boundaries instead of imaginary lines."

Compare this counsel with Jefferson's own conception: "I think," he wrote Madison from Annapolis in 1784, "the territory will be laid out by passing a meridian through the . . . mouth of the Gr. Kanhaway from the Ohio to L. Erie, and another through the rapids of Ohio from the same river to Michigan and crossing these by parallels of latitude 37° 39° 41° etc., allowing to each state an extent of 2° from north to south."

Thus each state was pocketed in a neat square, each with a Greek name lifted from Jefferson's classical education. The five states (Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin) that actually came into being escaped the names and some of the boundaries.

But we cannot blame Jefferson. A wilderness is like an ocean—a blank on the face of the planet, a thing to be rendered comprehensible only in terms of latitude and longitude. Blame, if blame there be, must be placed on all concerned for not taking the sound advice of Governor Barnard as to "natural boundaries." This was everybody's business, and therefore nobody's. The result was a constellation of states which, though "regional," make poor "regions." Not one of them forms a rounded unit of development, or coincides with any natural or convenient scheme of flowage—of water, commodity, or population.

Here, then, was a marked defect in the original plan. The state, as devised in the Ordinance of 1787, was not a natural unit of growth or sovereignty.

The natural geotechnic unit of the early non-nomadic civilizations was the river valley, notably the land of Egypt, gift of the Nile. The natural boundary between valleys is the line along the ridge which separates their respective drainages (the divide). As a rough and ready rule, subject to very liberal modification, the basic seat of geotechnic development is the river basin or watershed, which is a cross-section of the land from top summit to ocean level.

This rule was recognized by international law in the days of exploration for new settlement. Invoking it, LaSalle in 1682, standing at the mouth of the Mississippi River, claimed for his liege, Louis XIV, the total Mississippi drainage basin from the Appalachians to the unknown Cordilleras. He called it the land of Louis, or Louisiana.

Let us improvise history. Suppose that on the "beautiful April morning in 1607" Captain John Smith with his lusty crew had *not* anchored near Chesapeake Bay, but at the mouth of the Father of Waters. Suppose their descendents, instead of moving "westward-ho" roughshod across range and river, had moved "northward-ho" up-river along the banks of Father Mississippi and his constituent children—the Ohio, the Missouri, the Tennessee, and his other tributaries. Suppose they had laid out state bounds on nature's lines instead of the cartographers'—on lines which separated one river valley from another instead of separating up-stream from down.

Such common sense cooperation with the law of gravitation, aside from its other benefits, would have saved a host of headaches for the federal courts, howls in the halls of Congress and barrels of ink in editorial offices. Every state would then have been just naturally a "Valley Authority" in itself. "State rights," so far as affected

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—In his third article, Mr. MacKaye traced the genesis of geotechnics in the USA and the part played by Thomas Jefferson with his pioneer interest in American expansion. Once the criss-cross claims of the original thirteen states had been liquidated in the Great Lakes region, he confronted its first basic question—folkland vs. colony? His "statehood" scheme, as the democratic answer, was finally formulated in the Northwest Ordinance of 1787.

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by stream flow, would be in harmony with the inexorable rights of Ol' Man River, and not be ever at outs with him—as badly as King Canute was purported to be with Ol' Man Neptune.

Between the institution of state and colony there is no comparison. As Jefferson sensed it, one is sovereignty and the other subserviency. But pity 'tis that our state boundaries so seldom follow Ol' Dame Nature's. Nature's states are the river basins; each is a sovereignty, one inside the other—the Allegheny inside the Ohio and the Ohio inside the Mississippi. Nature's states work together in perfect harmony; their "compacts" have been worked out during the eons since the last geologic uplift of the land mass. The closer man's states coincide with the Dame's, the closer our regional sovereignty coincides with those carved by our rivers, the better for us mere men. Jefferson's statehood scheme did not provide for this coincidence.

The latest man-made instrument for so doing is the Valley Authority. That ominous word "Authority" applies to waters and not persons, and usually embraces parts of several states. Persons go on about their business just as they always have, from electing a Congressman to jailing a town drunk. As a legal instrument, the Valley Authority derives from the commerce clause of the U. S. Constitution. It is by no means perfect; it is still an experiment, just as was the first steam locomotive. That implement was based on the laws of pressure; this one, on the law of gravitation. The locomotive scared the horses and fell into the ditch. The Authority may scare the politicians or dam the wrong stream. In each case there are mistakes which are subject to correction, but the principle is sound. The Authority is the outcome of a solid effort to bring man's concept (and practice) of sovereignty in harmony with nature—and the river's.

SCHOOLS AND SETTLERS

HAVING EXPLORED ONE SHORTCOMING IN THE NORTHWEST Ordinance of 1787—and before taking up another—let me point out, parenthetically, that the founder of the University of Virginia was as much interested in the spread of intelligence as in the trek of people to the Middle West; that is, in equipment for citizenship that would go into the building up of new states.

Once their cabins were up, settlers in those parts built free schools. Thanks to Jefferson, there was history back of that—for the Charter of the Northwest Territory provided for the greatest public endowment of education the world had ever seen. In a region now the seat of five great commonwealths, that charter set aside for school purposes a share of every township. Through these land grants, from crossroad schools to state universities, sprang the public school system of the Great Lakes region which was to set the pace for the whole West.

THE FEE SIMPLE DESPOT

BESIDES THE STATEHOOD SYSTEM, THERE WAS ANOTHER major feature of the Ordinance of 1787 affecting American habitability. This was the public land system. Once the United States came into possession of the Northwest Territory, it functioned in two ways—(1) as sovereign, and (2) as land owner. In capacity (1) the USA divided its sovereignty with future communities of the folkland; it provided for their ultimate statehood. In capacity (2) the USA divided its ownership with future citizens of the folkland; it provided for their ultimate "landhood."

By this I mean something as definite for the single individual as statehood is for the community of individuals. Statehood gives control (in part) to activity within a bounded area of land. "Landhood" gives control (in whole) to the land itself within a bounded area. This is effected by "an invention of the Devil"—and of our revered Anglo-Saxon ancestors. It is still worshipped at the altar of Nordic tradition; its spelling is that of austere Roman obeisance; it is the *fee simple* title to "real property."

Real indeed! It is real and absolute rule over a real piece of our real planet Earth. It amounts to private sovereignty over such piece. It is the alleged "right" of Farmer John Doe or of Lumberman Richard Roe to do whatever he pleases with his so-called "own." He may treat as he likes his own piece of earth with total disregard of everybody else. If he so desires, he may shove, or let it slide, into the sea—and he *does*. Messrs. Doe and Roe are doing this right now in (and to) the land of America. They are ruining, every year, as the result of needless erosion, half a million acres.*

"But," you say, "erosion is inevitable; every geologist will tell you that even mountains are worn down to level plains."

Surely they are. Nature herself is wearing down the face of the United States about one inch every thousand years. But in so doing she does not prick the skin of the earth's face. But man *does*. That is the whole difference between geologic erosion and man-made erosion. The "knife" man uses is of several brands—ax, plow, hoof, and fire are chief among them. Reckless logging, wrongly placed plowing, overgrazing, forest fires—by these methods man can do in a year what nature cannot repair in a century. But there are ways of preventing this bleeding process. They consist in proper methods of handling those "knives" (ax, plow, hoof, fire):

—Use the ax in the production forest, the kind best suited to growing timber, occupying generally the level ground or easier slopes; and chop no more each year than grows. But spare the protection forest, the natural cover on the steeper slopes, which is chiefly valuable for checking rapid run-off.

—Plow along the contours so as to make terraces to check run-off, and not up and down the slopes to make gullies.

—Limit hoof to turf; limit the number of sheep and cattle to the capacity of the range—in short, do not overgraze it.

—Prevent forest fires.

All these things can be done and are being done. The ax is controlled in the National Forests and where timber cutting is conducted according to forestry. The plow is controlled on demonstration farms under cooperative agreements between farmers and the U. S. Government (Tennessee Valley Authority or Soil Conservation Service). The hoof is controlled on the National Forests by grazing regulations. Forest fires can be fully controlled only by the great roving public, and only after it

* "Our American Land," Miscellaneous Publications No. 596, page 5 (U. S. Department of Agriculture, Soil Conservation Service), 1946.

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has gained some real sense of ecology. Meanwhile the various states, and the United States in the National Forests, are improving each year their fire prevention services.

One farmer to set an early example of plowing along the contours was the father of the public land system himself. Jefferson told what "we *can* do, if we care enough:

"We now plow horizontally following the curvature of the hills and hollows on dead level, however crooked the lines may be. Every furrow thus acts as a reservoir to receive and retain the waters; scarcely an ounce of soil is now carried away. . . . In point of beauty nothing can exceed that of our waving lines and rows winding along the face of our hills and valleys." *(Land Policy Review,* Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Vol, VII., No. 1, Spring 1944. Quoted on back cover page.)

Today, enough is being done to show what *can* be done to curb the country's bleeding sickness. But outside the meager proportions comprised within the National Forests and the other public reservations, national or state, the only way to check the aforesaid bleeding, under our free-for-all fee simple system, is for the *sovereign people* (of a state or of the United States) to go on hands and knees to each *sovereign person* (Farmer Doe or Lumberman Roe) and ask him, "Please, Mister, for our 150 million sakes as well as for your own one sake, treat in the right way, not the wrong way, your particular little chunk of our sweet land of liberty." Such after all is our present American geotechnic system.

Before leaving this subject, let me quote what the late Congressman William Kent of California, donor of the Muir Woods, said thirty years ago about fee simple before an annual meeting of the American Economic Association at Richmond, Virginia:

"In summing up, I arraign this traditional fee simple title for many economic and social crimes and misdemeanors. . . .

"It has contributed a great impulse . . . to the depletion of our agricultural areas; it has lessened our food supplies and increased their costs; . . .

"It has destroyed our forests, wasted our coal supplies, cascaded our petroleum.

"It has encouraged private monopoly and resultant extortion, and has encouraged malevolent activities by our common carriers.

"More than any other privilege it has permitted men to reap where they have not sown."

A FOREST FOLKLAND

As with statehood so with landhood, we are endeavoring to make repair. We are working to place some check on the private sovereignty bestowed by the Northwest Ordinance and the Constitution. And fortunately a check thereon was provided in the latter instrument. Turn to Article IV., Section 3, Clause 2:

> The Congress shall have Power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States; . . .

If Congress may "dispose of" U. S. territory it may reverse the process and so reserve the territory; Congress may—if it will—hold any portion of the public domain from the clutches of fee simple. This, of course, only with land not already alienated. And Congress has so done. It has reserved *from* private sovereignty, and *for* public sovereignty, several kinds of special domains within the general one. Among these are Indian Reservations and National Parks. These have been created by separate acts of Congress. Finally, in 1891, a general policy of reservation was adopted and applied to the forest portions of the public domain, putting a check on the lumber sovereign.

This policy was contained in a short paragraph, Section 24, added to an act entitled "An Act to repeal timber culture laws, and for other purposes." One of the "other purposes" turned out to be the greatest timber culture law of all. Here it is:

> Sec. 24. That the President of the United States may, from time to time, *set apart and reserve,* in any State or Territory having public lands bearing forests, any part of the public lands wholly or in part covered with timber or undergrowth, whether of commercial value or not, as public reservations, and the President shall, by public proclamation, declare the establishment of such reservations and the limits thereof.

This act was passed by Congress and signed by President Benjamin Harrison on March 3, 1891. Dr. Bernhard E. Fernow, who preceded Gifford Pinchot as head of the U. S. Bureau of Forestry, thus commented on the matter in his "Economics of Forestry":

"It is upon this feeble 'rider' attached to a bill hardly germane to the subject that the forest reservation policy of the federal government is based, that the federal land policy, which before considered only disposal of the public domain, was changed, the government becoming a land-owner for continuity."

President Theodore Roosevelt, guided by Gifford Pinchot's surveys of the forested public domain, did indeed so "set apart and reserve." Thereby came into being the bulk of the National Forests in our western country—a *forest folkland* the size of France wherein timber culture supplants timber mining.

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We have now completed the first chapter of our genesis of geotechnics in the United States. We started (in my previous installment) with the primeval beginnings of the land of America; the advent of the white man and his settlement in thirteen separate communities in the Atlantic coast forest; his problems, latent and immediate, of making himself a home in a continental wilderness; his need of emulating nature's geotechnics in developing his own human ecology.

We have traced the part of Jefferson in this genesis, and his role as America's pioneer geotechnist; we followed his "farsight" across the continent, its focus sharpened by America's "Marco Polo." We cited his great plan for the region of the near Northwest, whereby the state, not the colony, became the unit of our expansion. We have noted certain flaws in this great plan, and with them remedies seemingly in character with Jeffersonian long range principles.

We have scanned the geotechnic story of American land as such, and the role of the folkland as nation maker. Linked with this goes the story of American waters, and the role of their commerce, in turn, as nation maker.

(Next installment: Watershed and Washington)

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Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth • • • A SPECIAL SECTION

Youth in Today's World: Conference Report

KATHRYN CLOSE

URGENCY PERMEATED THE ATMOSphere at the National Guard Armory at Washington, D. C., December 3-7, when over 5,000 persons from every state and territory in the United States and a number of foreign countries met together for the Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth.

Professionals and lay people representing every field of service to children, they and thousands of their friends and colleagues back home had been planning for more than a year for this fifth decennial national conference on children, called by President Truman in September 1949. Working as members of Conference committees, cooperating agencies, or on state and local youth commissions, they had gathered facts about children's needs, surveyed local conditions, pulled together available knowledge on child-development, and otherwise contributed to the store of written material assembled in preparation for the Conference.

Now, armed with four printed documents representing a synthesis of this accumulation, they had arrived at the nation's capital to prepare a "platform" for meeting the problems which prevent children and young people from achieving healthy personalities. And they had run smack up against the greatest problem of all—impending war. Stunned by the tragic turn of events in Korea they faced the grim realization that nothing they could say or do would be of any value to the nation's young unless it helped them develop the kind of personalities that can withstand tension and adversity.

President Truman set the grave tone when he warned the Conference that the nation faces "the greatest challenge in our history."

"We cannot insulate our children from the uncertainties of the world in which we live or from the impact of the problems which confront us all," he said. "What we *can* and *must* do is to equip them to meet these problems, to do their part in the total effort, and to build up those inner resources of character which are the main strength of the American people."

The necessary strengthening of our

Section Contents

CONFERENCE REPORT
Kathryn Close 17
MOVING AHEAD
Melvin A. Glasser 25
WHAT BENDS THE TWIG?
Marion Robinson 27
RECOMMENDATIONS 31
PLEDGE TO CHILDREN 32

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President Truman

military defenses, warned the President, "will change the lives of our young people," many of whom will have to devote some part of their youth to defense activities. "In no other way can we insure our survival as a nation."

But communism wields a moral and spiritual as well as a military threat, President Truman pointed out, and he warned: "Every time our American institutions fail to live up to their high purposes, every time they fail in the proper administration of justice, the forces of communism are aided in their attempt to poison the minds of men everywhere against our institutions."

The President called on the Conference to find ways of helping young people better understand democracy: "We must teach them why we must fight, when necessary, to defend our democratic institutions, our beliefs in the rights of the individual and our fundamental belief in God."

THE CHARGED ATMOSPHERE, INTENSIFIED by President Truman's militant speech, tended to sharpen rather than to blur the focus on emotional development, but it also shifted the conferees' sights to rest more squarely on youth than on younger children. The presence of 500 young people themselves, and their admission of fright and uncertainty, made it hard to forget that this was the group which would bear the brunt of total mobilization or war, if these come.

Gravity rather than gloom was the prevailing mood, but at the same time the Conference vibrated with vitality. Never before had this reporter witnessed such a degree of actual participation in so large a gathering. A few dignitaries spoke, inspiringly and informatively, at general sessions and in thirty-one panel meetings, but they only set the stage for thirty-nine workshops and one great "town meeting" where every one of the 4,800 official delegates had a chance, and seemed to take it, of hammering out the recommendations to be presented to the nation. If the young people felt any shyness in working with adults they swallowed it in their desire to express their own ideas. They were the realists of the meeting, who time and again brought their generalizing elders down to earth with specific questions: "Why do the schools encourage cheating through competitive grading?" "If I get married this year and my husband is drafted would it be better for us not to have any children until he can be permanently at home?" "What can the church do for me?" "What do you mean by spiritual values, anyway?"

RELIGION HELD A DEFINITE PLACE IN this Conference beginning with the session when the Reverend George A. Buttrick, of New York, pleaded for "faith in God as Authority, Shelter and Venture." It also provoked one of the sorest areas of controversy, centering around its relationship to public education. Dr. Buttrick posed the question of whether in condemning "compulsory religion," education did not deal "perhaps unwillingly" in "compulsory secularism."

Early in the week a few conferees could be heard asking, "What is this 'released time' people are so excited about?" But, by Thursday, when the final recommendations were put to a vote of the Conference as a whole, everybody seemed to know well enough to have a decided opinion. There the battle over separation of church and state and the use of the public schools for the promotion of religious tenets came to a vote in several different forms, all of them won by those interested in keeping religious teaching out of tax-supported schools.

Though they split on this issue, clergymen of every denomination unanimously insisted on the recognition of spiritual values—or a sense of religion—as necessary to the stable development of the child. The young people, too, were "religion conscious" but, in formulating their own suggestions for incorporating this feeling in the recommendations, ran against a snag of definitions. After haggling for nearly an hour over the terms "God," "Divine Intelligence," or "Outside Force," they eventually comprised on "Supreme Being" to the apparent satisfaction of no one.

A few hardy individualists spoke up for "the freedom not to believe" or for the definition of a healthy personality as a person "who can stand on his own feet without the need of authority," but the consensus was that "basic religion" was a necessary ingredient in the recipe for healthy development.

Racial or religious discrimination came in for heavy condemnation as a stumbling block to wholesome personality, though it took a battle led by a southern white woman at the final session to get through a recommendation specifically calling for an eventual end of segregation.

Because of Washington's segregated patterns outside of federally owned institutions, the Conference had arranged for congregate living quarters for the 500 youth delegates, at Fort Myers, Virginia, thus providing many of them with their first experience in interracial living. Others, in their natural prying around Washington, came up against the first real segregation they had ever witnessed. Perhaps it was the combination of these experiences that made so many young people call for the repeatedly defeated recommendation that no further federally sponsored conference representing the people as a whole and concerned with their welfare be held in Washington until the city had wiped out segregation. The young people finally succeeded, however, in getting the Conference to adopt an amendment to the Civil Rights recommendation appealing to the federal government to abolish segregation in the nation's capital.

SINCE THIS WAS DEMOCRACY IN ACTION there were bound to be controversies—universal military training, publicly supported nursery schools, federal aid to education, and disability insurance, to name a few provoking the most passionate arguments. None, however, disrupted the apparently universal agreement that the child should be regarded as a whole rather than treated in segments. The call for "inter-disciplinary cooperation" came frequently and insistently, though the somewhat mathematical description, "the whole child," seemed to be giving way to the happier phrase "healthy personality."

Oscar R. Ewing, Federal Security Administrator and chairman of the Conference's National Committee, indicated the wide range of considerations involved in providing a chance for a

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healthy personality when, introducing the President of the United States, he reported on the purposes of the assemblage:

"We aim to further the development of a healthy personality, through the contributions of family life, the church, the school, health services, social services, vocational guidance, and placement services. We are exploring, at the same time, economic forces; working conditions; leisure time; and the influence of the law, the courts, and the protective services.

"We have to explore the spiritual values of our people and our society; the effect of conflicting standards; the influence of the neighborhood; the effect of family income; the significance of artistic expression; the impact of the mass media of communications, such as the press, radio, television, movies, and the like; and the effect of mobilization and possible war.

"We aim to further healthy personality development of children in special situations—children in families with inadequate income; children with part time parents; children on the move; children with severe mental and physical limitations: children with serious emotional disorders; and children who rebel.

"We aim, finally, to determine how a community can assess what needs to be done in planning creatively for young people . . . and how best to implement the recommendations and findings that come out of this conference."

Knowledge and Gaps

From the first the conferees were reminded that their discussions of these aims would have little validity unless they were based on specific knowledge of how children develop. Prior to the Conference the delegates had each been sent a copy of the "Fact-Finding Report," outlining the various stages of a child's emotional growth and their implications for the family, the school, the church, and other institutions. [See page 27.] In Washington they had abundant opportunity to discuss these theories with many of the psychiatrists, pediatricians, and research workers responsible for them and to learn more not only of the present gaps in knowledge but also of the wide span between what is known and its application.

There were some differences of opinion as to the place of heredity or "constitutional factors" in determining personality, but opinion was unanimous as to the importance of love in the child's early life. If a child has "a pair of good parents who love him truly," maintained Dr. Benjamin Spock, of the Mayo Clinic, he can put up with a lot of other deprivations. And Dr. Franz Alexander, Chicago psychiatrist, in a panel paper read in his absence, maintained that "internal standards which become integral parts of the personality" can only develop "if the process of social adjustment is based on positive identification, on love, trust, and admiration of the growing child for those who are entrusted with his upbringing." To these observations Dr. Sibylle Escalona, of the Menninger Foundation, added the corollary: "We are forced to recognize that the health and well-being of future generations is in large measure the result of the health and well-being of the adults that constitute the world of the child."

All is not necessarily lost, however, if the child has a bad start, for, according to Dr. Alexander, "many of the adverse influences of early childhood can be corrected by later experiences in life."

This point was corroborated by Erik H. Erickson, San Francisco lay analyst whose theories on course of personality development had been heavily drawn upon for the "Fact-Finding Report."

Mr. Erickson stressed the conflicts of youth, particularly in a period of national emergency. Youth is a time, he said, when a sense of positive identity with family traditions, an outside group, or "clear cut historical values" must be achieved if the personality is not to be diffused. One of the enemy's secret weapons in the cold war, he maintained, is to create tensions which complicate identity development.

All through the discussions of child development came warnings against scaring young parents with scientific theories. This in fact seemed to be one of the Conference's own conflicts: how to spread far and wide the knowledge of the basic tenets of mental hygiene and good child care without burdening parents with a sense of anxiety and guilt. More and earlier parent education was urged as a necessity, but a woman in one of the workshops complained: "Mothers are not ready for all the psychology and psychiatry they're expected to practice on their children. There's no stability in us. We jump from one feeling to another and end up feeling completely inadequate."

This mother was backed by Dr. Grete Bibring, of the Harvard Medical School, who said that the forced acceptance of knowledge by persons not ready for it might do more harm than good. Dr. Spock also recognized the problem created by "our respect for scientific authority," but he suggested that there might be other reasons for the widespread uneasiness of parents, and recommended this as an area for further research."

Fathers received considerable attention in a number of workshops. In one, the question arose as to the value of the current practice of encouraging the father to be an active member of the family unit through infant care, in view of the break in close relationship which will occur if the father has to enter the armed services. It took a youth delegate, Margot Cassel, of Barnard College, to point out the futility of parents trying to educate children for specific life situations: "They should help us develop as normal human beings, with strengths that will enable us to accept all that we must face."

In another group, Rabbi Abram V. Goodman, of Davenport, Iowa, pointed to the importance of fathers to preadolescent children and suggested that some means be found for providing masculine associations for those whose fathers must be away.

The basic points which emerged from the six workshops concerned with the various phases of child development were summarized by a joint committee as:

The changing needs of each child depend on his individuality, his environment and particularly his relationship to his parents.

The feelings for children on the part of parents and professional people are more important than the techniques they use.

Attitudes in giving advice are more important than the advice given.

Both boys and girls need to be close to men and women for good emotional development.

A general healthy personality is not established once and for all at any age period, but can be strengthened or weakened at any stage in life.

THE EXPERTS AT THE CONFERENCE showed considerable awareness that our present knowledge of children's needs is

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far from definitive. Among those who called for an interdisciplinary attack in carrying on more research was Leonard Mayo, vice-chairman of the Conference's National Committee.

Speaking at a general session Mr. Mayo pointed to the disparity in research progress between the physical and social sciences and to the failure of either to cross university departmental lines — "and yet every child born into the world crosses such 'lines' at the rate of several times an hour." This poses a major problem to the practitioner who "must attempt to apply as a whole that which comes to him in segments." Gaining and applying knowledge are a part of one process, this social worker maintained, and "those identified with one part have a responsibility to the other."

Mr. Mayo also called for a new emphasis as the point of application. "There is an art as well as a science of application," he maintained, "and 50 percent of both lies in what knowledge to apply and how to apply it." Some of the blocks standing in the way of intelligent application he identified as: a failure to test theories sufficiently; inadequate collation of the results of research; the personality factor—"if the truth hurts in the psychological sense we do not act upon it readily."

A chat between sessions: left to right, Oscar R. Ewing, Mrs. Harry S. Truman, the Reverend George A. Buttrick, Monsignor John J. McClafferty.

AT THE SAME SESSION DR. BENJAMIN Spock decried the gaps in application. Tracing the known needs of children from infancy through adolescence, he deplored the way they are cruelly disregarded for large segments of children.

"Though our knowledge is incomplete in most aspects of personality development," Dr. Spock said, "there is plenty of knowledge to do an infinitely better job than is being done today." He named as the "most obvious and immediate needs" more and earlier help for emotionally neglected children and improvement of the schools.

Since a pair of "truly loving parents" —offering the "well-rounded, easygoing kind of love, not the lopsided varieties" —is the one essential for every child under six, something must be done for the young children who have no parents or who are being neglected in their own homes, the noted pediatrician maintained. When good adoption practices, reliable foster homes, and first class nursery schools are not available, he said, we often see young personalities "being warped right in front of our eyes."

The school aged child, said Dr. Spock, "whether for good or evil" is learning much more than subject matter. Yet our schools are too few and too crowded, the equipment is antiquated, the teachers are too few and many of them inadequately trained, or temperamentally unsuited to their work, the programs—often at community insistence—are more concerned with the three R's than in helping children develop their potentialities, and the proportion of national income going to public education is falling.

Adolescents are also short-changed by our educational system, Dr. Spock maintained, for they are denied "an adequate sense of acceptance into the grown-up world and of dignified participation in it."

HOW TO CLOSE THE GAP BETWEEN knowledge and application in the institutions affecting children was a major concern of the Conference. Is this knowledge being put to use in the family, the churches, the schools, leisure time programs, vocational aid, health and welfare services, the courts? Not well enough, cried delegate after delegate, bringing an abundance of testimony as to the uneven sensitivity to children's needs within these institutions.

The widespread incidence of broken homes and anxiety-ridden parents was offered as evidence that the first place for improved application must be within the family itself. Immaturity among adults emerged as the chief source of family difficulties, and this in turn was blamed in large part on early childhood experiences. Thus the conferees found themselves caught in the vicious circle of immature parent, unstable child, immature parent. Some of the weapons suggested for breaking this sequence were increased family welfare and marriage counseling services, preparation for marriage in the schools and colleges, sex education, community use of mass media of communication for education in "family centered living."

Some controversy emerged in the panels and workshops as to sex education in the schools, but there was general agreement that this should at least be begun in the home. To be of any value anywhere it must include more than the mere facts and be "psychologically and humanistically oriented," maintained Dr. Fred Brown, New York clinical psychologist.

The suggestion for "well family conferences" comparable to "well baby clinics" emerged from one workshop where participants evinced a concern for greater encouragement to successful parents.

Differences of opinion as to whether nursery schools are a help or a hindrance to good family relationships were carried all the way to the final session of the conference. There, a recommendation for the provision of nursery schools in public school systems, sponsored by delegates who regard such facilities as educational for both mother and child, was

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bitterly contested by those who see them as an encouragement to mothers to hand over their responsibilities to outsiders. It was also opposed by some delegates who believe in the usefulness of nursery schools but not as a public venture. Nevertheless, the Conference upheld it.

School systems came in for a flood of blame for not being realistic in their programs, the most vivid indictment coming from Allison Davis of the University of Chicago.

"The vast store of ability in millions of children in the lower socio-economic groups is largely wasted because their teachers do not understand the basic cultural habits of the working groups," Professor Davis charged. The fact that 70 percent of the children in our schools come from the lower socio-economic groups, and 95 percent of the teachers from the middle socio-economic groups results in a great "cultural divide," he explained.

Professor Davis told of studies carried on by social anthropologists showing that behavior frowned on as "delinquent" by "middle class teachers, clinicians, and psychiatrists" is in slum children often a perfectly realistic, adaptive, and socially acceptable response to reality. "In lower class families, physical aggression is as much a normal, socially approved, and socially inculcated type of behavior as it is in frontier communities."

Among the sad results of this misunderstanding of socio-economic differences are "an unrealistic and extremely uninteresting curriculum" and "culturally biased" intelligence tests. Because the children of lower socio-economic groups have no basis of experience for answering the questions on most intelligence tests, they make poor scores and are shunted into slow groups, the Chicago educator maintained. Moreover, he charged, school systems have "usually provided poorer buildings and equipment, and higher teacher-loads for those schools located in the lower socio-economic neighborhoods, because the pupils there are supposed to be 'inferior' in mental ability."

The schools were also scrutinized in a panel meeting where Marquis Childs, United Feature Syndicate, and Earl James McGrath, U. S. Commissioner of Education, considered the educator's role in building responsible citizenship. "The adolescent youth has been encouraged to accept the fruits of a free society without contributing to its sustenance or its future growth," Mr. Childs charged, and he warned: "We will continue to allow this to happen at our imminent peril."

Our only hope, Mr. Childs argued, it to "teach young people the meaning of free choice in a free society." But he questioned the possibility of achieving this under an "educational system that is far too often treated as though it were merely a kind of luxury that could be curtailed or ignored at will."

Less pessimistic, Commissioner McGrath posed a number of questions for educators who wish to evaluate their own roles as citizen molders: "Are our classrooms democratic or authoritarian? Do teachers show genuine and continuing interest in the real problems of their children? Is every pupil given a chance to participate in the total school program?"

The home, the school and the community all have important roles in educating for citizenship, he said.

Teachers and parents can learn much from each other and must work together, one workshop agreed, while a panel put the responsibility for lessening "school-family tensions" on parents by participating in school activities. In another group, Dr. Lyle W. Ashby, National Education Association, urged educators to impress upon the American people the immediate necessity of providing well trained and emotionally adjusted teachers in the classrooms, enough classrooms so that children will at least have a place to sit down, and decently equipped classrooms in which children and teachers can work effectively.

Youth delegates took active part in the school discussions. "There ought to be a law against so much competition," said one seventeen-year-old, and so stimulated consideration of the effects of competitive as against cooperative programs and activities on youth's aims and outlook.

Discussions of leisure time activities brought out their potentialities as educational forces, as well as the opportunities they provide for play and self-expression. There seemed to be general agreement that adults should "recognize and develop the traits acquired through leisure which lead to healthier children —physically, emotionally, mentally and spiritually," as Charles K. Brightbill, executive secretary of the President's Commission on Religion and Welfare in the Armed Forces, put it. Other delegates saw recreation as providing: a means of escape; a method for expressing inner feelings; development of social attributes; experience in group cooperation. "All the recreation halls in the world won't improve youth unless adults provide healthy leadership and set good examples," observed Gertrude Wilson of the Educational Alliance, New York.

Youth delegates maintained that young people were not interested in recreation programs unless they had a part in the planning.

DISCUSSION OF SOCIAL SERVICES EMPHASIZED professional training as of prime importance but also brought forth a general agreement that scientific knowledge about child development can be applied effectively only by persons who have a real feeling for children. Lack of community support was cited as a hazard to proper services. Manuel Kaufman, Philadelphia Health and Welfare Council, blamed this on general apathy toward social work, this country's tradition of self-sufficiency, the opinion that requests for service indicate weakness, the stigma attaching to those who ask help.

The lack or inadequacy of various services in rural areas came out in a number of meetings where delegates urged extension of health, welfare, vocational guidance, and church services to neglected communities. It also was suggested that the armed forces cooperate with employers and vocational guidance experts to help shape the long range vocational future of those in military service.

Forces Affecting Children

"We cannot immunize our children against the times," one delegate remarked, voicing the Conference's conviction that the "forces" of contemporary life must be made more positive for children.

Religion came into the picture as a hopeful potential, weakened in comparison with its historical influence, but still available as a source of strength for withstanding today's tensions.

"Unless and until the criteria which religion provides for all races and conditions of men are commonly accepted, democracy itself cannot be on a firm foundation," said James V. Thompson, of the American Jewish Committee.

The common elements of all faiths that can be helped in personality development were sought in a panel meet-

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ing of Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish representatives.

"Religion is not magic," said Monsignor John J. McClafferty, "nor is it philosophy, or ethics, or art. Essentially it is the liaison between man and God."

Rabbi Uri Miller of the Synagogue Council of America maintained that the "lack of religion is the principal reason for the wide development of psychiatry in recent years." Because religion stresses the importance of the individual, he said, the religious person is less likely to have a sense of rejection. By imparting a feeling of brotherhood with all mankind it assists the adolescent to enter adult life.

The Reverend Raymond B. Johnson, of Hingham, Mass., suggested that the current apathy of young people toward religion may mean that "we need to broaden the base of our conception." Said he: "The difficulty is that we start off with definitions instead of developing in the individual capacity for religion, giving him an opportunity to think the subject through and then to follow any particular faith which he may prefer."

CULTURE PATTERNS RECEIVED HEAVY emphasis from the platform and in discussion groups as major forces affecting children's lives. But it was Margaret Mead, of the American Museum of Natural History, who chilled and thrilled the audience at a general session with a description of the effects of the changing, unpredictable nature of modern life on families and children. Said she:

"American children are growing up within the most rapidly changing culture of which we have any record in the world, within a culture where for several generations, each generation's experience has differed sharply from the last, and in which the experience of the youngest child in a large family will be extraordinarily different from that of the first born. Mothers cannot look back to the experience of their mothers, nor even to that of their older sisters; young husbands and fathers have no guides to the behavior which they are assuming today. So long standing and so rapid have been these processes of change that expectation of change and anxiety about change have been built into our character as a people."

Miss Mead found strengths and dangers in the characteristic mobility of American life. This, she said, has brought about flexibility, awareness, and "a capacity to shift and change, to pause and weigh." But it has also exacted a price: "the price of loneliness, of the sense that each ventures along a path unguarded by the friendly spirits of past generations."

Therefore, said this noted social anthropologist, new educational efforts must be directed toward helping children find reassurance from within themselves: "Now, because the task ahead of them is even more exacting than any task which Americans have yet faced, we must use the knowledge which the new sciences of human behavior have given us, to create the conditions for the strength that will be needed, to give protection against loneliness, new sources within the self, new capacities for moving into the future."

The confusion in which children and young people find themselves because of conflicting values stirred considerable discussion. The conflicts between "equality before God" and discrimination, cooperation and competition, brotherly love and war, were all cited as examples of the disparity between current preachment and practice.

"All our school programs and activities are keyed to produce a keen sense of competition," observed one delegate. Another maintained that Negroes who hear about democracy while they experience discrimination can only develop "schizoid personalities." And another asked: "How can we teach our young people that love is the motivating force of life when we have to ask them to go out and kill?"

One workshop became so conscious of the deep-seated disillusionment such conflicts create in young people that it passed a resolution urging "every organized force in the United States" to close the gap between "our high spiritual, ethical, and political aspirations and actual daily practice."

Sophia L. Fahs of the American Unitarian Association expressed another point of view when she suggested in a panel discussion that perhaps adults add to children's conflicts by expecting too much of them. "Our ideals have been too high and too abstract," she said. "We must help children get away from the great burden of guilt they feel."

IT WAS OBVIOUSLY THE SENSE OF THE Conference that discrimination—racial and religious—is a major obstacle to healthy personality development. Testimony as to its damaging effects came out all through the Conference as well as in the specific panel and workshops set up to examine the subject. These discussions dealt with the effects of discrimination on the discriminator as well as those discriminated against.

Prejudice, pointed out Sister Mary de Lourdes of St. Joseph College, is based on fear and ignorance. "Only when we have a deep measure of trust in children will we develop people who are not afraid of different peoples, different religions, and different groups."

Children develop ideas of prejudice and discrimination as early as four or five years of age, said the psychologist Kenneth B. Clark, College of the City of New York. The fact that some people seem to gain at least temporarily from their prejudicial actions, he maintained, obscures the long-run loss to the community.

Discussions of mass media of communication dealt almost entirely with television. Though there were some who decried the poor taste and violence in many of the programs to which children are exposed, the emphasis was on making the most educationally of this new medium and on more effective parental supervision. After hearing about the large portion of the day many children spent on television, Lyman Bryson of Columbia University remarked: "Apparently the only noise one does not hear in the living room today is the sound of the parental foot going down."

NO TOPIC OCCUPIED SO MUCH CONFERence thought and comment as the effects on children and young people of the threat of war. Scarcely a speaker or delegate from the President to the high school youth but referred to the grave situation facing the nation. Two themes predominated: Services to children must be strengthened to provide as much protection as possible from the hazards of war and the disrupting factors of mobilization; young people, on whom the main burden of the crisis will fall, must be given whatever support they need to face the difficulties ahead.

Robert Bondy, chairman of the Conference's Advisory Council on National Organizations, reminded the delegates that they were discussing the development of healthy personality at a time when the government is distributing a leaflet entitled "Survival Under Atomic Attack."

Today's grave situation will prevail for many years to come, Mr. Bondy

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predicted, and will have many implications for children, among them: widespread employment of teen-agers and a concomitant drop in school enrollments; increasing employment of mothers of young children and a consequent increase in the need for foster care; severe housing shortages; an increase in tensions and a resultant weakening of the setting for a healthy personality.

Discussions revealed differences of opinion over the desirability of universal military training, those who were "for" it pointing to the unfairness and resentments which arise from the present selective service system, and those "against" holding up the dangers of mass regimentation. A recommendation for UMT was carried from workshop to the conference as a whole, which voted it down.

In a panel meeting Dr. William C. Menninger, Menninger Foundation, endorsed a system of universal service for eighteen-year-olds with selective assignments for a period of one to three years. Warning of possible undesirable effects on youth, the family, economic life, and the future from such regimentation he also saw some gains: confidence and security in our national strength; growth of pride in the youth who serves; a deepening sense of citizen responsibility; the socializing which comes from participating and belonging.

Girls, too, should contribute some service, suggested Dorothy Stratton of the Girl Scouts of the USA. She reported answers to questionnaires which indicated that high school girls are worrying about the effects of mobilization on themselves and their "boy friends" but that college girls "seem to be living in an ivory tower."

Many young people at the Conference testified that they and their friends felt confusion, fear, and a determination to do their part. Said seventeen-year-old Marion McSurely of Washington, D. C.: "We look to the adults and see that they are not doing the right thing, but we don't speak up because we're unsure ourselves and then we realize that they are as confused and insecure as we." But she added. "Bet your boots the teenagers will work to make our country stand for the ideals which we have learned in a real democracy!"

The greatest problem war brings to children is separation from their families, according to Dr. John R. Rees, World Federation for Mental Health, who told of the basic strains on evacuated children in England during World War II. Unaccompanied children showed greater disturbances than those accompanied by a parent, he reported. Dr. Lois Stolz of Stanford University recommended that there be no evacuation of infants in this country unless accompanied by the mother and that mothers of infants should not be employed.

"Today's children live in a world of unequaled prospects—and unprecedented danger," said General Carlos P. Romulo, chief of the Philippine delegation to the United Nations and one of the 292 foreign observers at the Conference. Praising the United States for its economic aid and technical assistance to other countries and for its stand in Korea, he added: "What is at stake in Korea is the freedom of Man, his dignity, his infinite worth as a person, and his inalienable right to live according to his conscience and his nature. . . . Therefore, it is fitting that we here and now reaffirm our allegiance to human dignity and human freedom . . . that we consider . . . how best me may inculcate in our children these priceless qualities."

THE EFFECTS ON CHILDREN OF ECONOMIC forces influencing family income, housing, neighborhoods, were also considered. Ewan Clague of the Bureau of Labor Statistics pointed out that while American incomes are high and rising, many children are born into economically substandard families, and the majority of them live in areas with the least wealth and the fewest services.

"Any economic investment of funds in our youngsters today will maintain the greatness of our nation," he said.

Eveline M. Burns of the New York School of Social Work maintained that low incomes have cumulative effects because they restrict health and educational opportunities and also because they are concentrated in certain areas and groups.

Repeatedly throughout the Conference came assertions that the delegates' findings must apply to *all* children and youth, but it was recognized that there were children in special situations with special problems to be considered. Parental education was designated as the first essential in building healthy personalities in children with mental or physical handicaps, with severe emotional disturbances, with rebellious behavior. Teamwork was called for among all

Youth delegates: Nancy Rossman, Girl Scouts of America; Stefan Anderson, Junior Red Cross; Ernestine Herbin, New Homemakers of America; Arnulf Pins, National Social Welfare Assembly; Marjorie Jean Fitten, Salvation Army; Dianne Mathre, 4-H Clubs

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the agencies serving such children. However, Dr. Frederick H. Allen, Philadelphia psychiatrist, urged that community clinics not neglect their service job in preoccupation with communitywide mental health education. Efforts at early case-finding and the provision of vocational guidance were singled out as of optimum importance to the handicapped.

A suggestion that courts dealing with children be organized as family rather than juvenile courts because "families are the root of the difficulties" met with an objection that the child's welfare might not be sufficiently underscored. Children of divorce and others who are "passed around" received attention from a group considering the effect of law on family welfare. Karl N. Llewellyn of the School of Law, Columbia University, suggested that the courts make more use of arbitration in working out human relations.

Children in families of inadequate income, children of migrants and others "on the move," and children of working mothers were also regarded as having special problems, while a few delegates pointed out that children of the wealthy likewise face special barriers to healthy development.

Democracy in Process

Interest at the Conference focused not only on children's needs and what should be done about them, but also on how to go about doing it. Workshops and panels on community organization were heavily attended. They emphasized the importance of effective planning machinery, including the cooperation of voluntary and public agencies; teamwork among the professions; widening the circle of citizen participation; planning *with* instead of *for* youth.

As "Exhibit A" the Conference could look to itself, for these elements were all illustrated in its own structure and operations.

Its complicated machinery was founded on *voluntary-public cooperation*. In a sense, the Conference was quasi-official for it was called by the President, was supported in part by funds furnished by Congress to the U. S. Children's Bureau, and had Federal Security Administrator Oscar R. Ewing as chairman of its National Committee, and Katharine F. Lenroot, chief of the Children's Bureau, as secretary. There was also an Advisory Council on Federal Participation—chairman, Hazel K. Stiebeling—made up of representatives of federal departments, which reported on federal services to children.

On the other hand, the Conference was essentially a citizens' movement. Three fourths of its money came from voluntary sources—gifts from foundations, organizations, and individuals. Its National Committee was composed of professionals and laymen from all parts of the country who have exhibited a special concern for children. Its Advisory Council on National Agencies, chairman, Robert E. Bondy, included representatives from 464 national agencies "interested in children and youth," from the Campfire Girls to the National Association of Manufacturers. Its Advisory Council on State and Local Action, chairman, Margaret Price, served as a channel to the Conference for the ideas and efforts of thousands of people, representing "just themselves" as well as all kinds of public and private organizations and services "back home." (See "Everybody's Business—The Nation's Children," *The Survey*, December 1950.)

In spite of this example of public and voluntary cooperation some feeling emerged in committee meetings and in private confabs that if the White House Conferences are meant to be the "voice of the people" there should be a minimum of government participation. This came out in the open in a discussion of whether public funds of any kind should be used to finance Conference follow-up activities. However, the Conference methods of hammering out recommendations through workshops, committees and finally through the total assemblage under Mr. Ewing's exceedingly patient chairmanship, must in some measure have dispelled such fears of government control.

Teamwork among the professions was implicit in the Conference's focus. Unlike many another large assembly, it never broke down into small segments of narrow interests with the experts concentrating only on their own specialties. Educators, social workers, vocational counselors, pediatricians, psychiatrists, nurses, public health administrators, worked together in preparatory committees, in the worshops, and on the panels. The child remained whole.

The Conference's *wide circle of citizen participation* was representative of all the racial and religious groups—Protestant, Catholic, Jew, white, Negro, American Indian, Japanese American, Spanish American. The states had been explicitly instructed to include in their delegations representatives of all groups of any considerable proportions in their populations. Only one, Georgia, had balked at forming an interracial delegation, and the all-white group sent by Governor Talmadge had to be supplemented through special invitations issued to other Georgians, to give the state fairer representation.

Finally, and far from least, there was *youth participation*, a far from "nominal" representation of those who were the chief objects of concern. The 500 young people from 12 to 23 at the Conference came as members of the Advisory Committee on Youth Participation, chairman, Arnulf M. Pins, as representatives of many national voluntary organizations, and as members of state delegations. Vocal about their eagerness to work along with adults to solve their own and community problems, they griped openly about the tendency of some community agencies to put youth delegates on their boards as "front" to go along with what the adults want. Though they may have been open to the charge of being unrepresentative in the sense of being the "cream" of their schools, colleges, and organizations— in a few instances, of institutions for delinquents—they were in no sense a "front" for they obviously said what they believed and felt.

There was, for instance, Ernestine Herbin, student at Bennett College, North Carolina, who could only have been expressing her own deep conviction when she ringingly challenged before 5000 people the possibility of ever achieving equality of opportunity in a "separate but equal" pattern. An impressed foreign observer said in private conversation that this girl's fearless attack on a system to which she must return symbolized for him "the greatness of America."

There was an earnest quality about these young people that at times seemed almost too sober—until one remembered the kind of world they are facing. They were troubled, but they went about their business with a simple directness that was a challenge to the adults. Ernestine Herbin put this in words too:

"Yesterday is gone; forget about it. Tomorrow is ahead; don't worry too much about it. Today is here; *do* something!"

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Moving Ahead

MELVIN A. GLASSER

White House Conference Executive Director

A NEW NATIONAL PROGRAM FOR children and young people has been launched. Its purpose is to translate the recommendations of the Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth into action, and to stimulate basic research in those areas of child care and development in which tested data are still lacking for the guidance of parents and professional workers.

"You are seeking ways to help our children and young people become mentally and morally stronger and to make them better citizens. I think you should press right ahead with that work. It is more important now than ever."

These words of the President of the United States rang in the minds and hearts of the delegates to the Midcentury White House Conference meetings. Before the last of them had departed from the huge National Guard Armory in Washington, long range plans for the months and years ahead were being shaped, and immediate activities for the coming days and weeks initiated.

A substantial body of preliminary thought and planning lent impetus to this beginning. Studies made by a follow-up committee of the National Committee for the White House Conference, and discussions by five work groups at the meetings culminated when the final plenary session December 7, authorized the National Committee to appoint a committee empowered to carry forward.

That same evening, the National Committee began the work of organization. The new committee is to be composed of citizens strategic in work for the well-being of children and youth in the United States, and will include some members of the present National Committee and five representatives from each of the three White House Conference Advisory Councils—State and Local Action, National Organizations, and Youth. The committee is to be financed primarily by voluntary funds, and a small initial grant has already been secured.

Two experienced White House Conference staff members are carrying on as the beginning secretariat for the new group—Elma Phillipson, who has been Consultant on National Organizations, is serving as executive secretary; Lois Gratz, White House Conference Field Consultant, is to advise on state and local projects.

On all sides the Conference recommendations have been hailed as a substantial platform in support of children and young people. [See page 31.] National organizations, youth groups, and the Advisory Council on State and Local Action have already started to relate their continuing Conference work to the main lines of action proposed in these recommendations and to the machinery designed to implement it.

"The impetus given to citizen action from these meetings is so great and the demands of the people back home for help in moving forward are so extensive that we need to find immediate answers to some of their questions," said Margaret Price, chairman of the Advisory Council on State and Local Action which met the morning following the Conference. The 133 delegates from the states and territories voted to continue their Advisory Council, elected new officers, and selected five members to serve on the new committee.

The state agreed to relate their further activities to the central theme of the Conference: "For every child a fair chance for a healthy personality," and proposed to use Conference materials for local interpretation and education. They recommended that every state and local White House Conference committee immediately get to work setting local priorities among the Conference recommendations, with periodic stock-taking to assess progress.

One quick method of highlighting the Conference conclusions was suggested by several delegates—namely, widespread dissemination of the "Pledge to Children" and house-to-house canvass in selected communities to explain the pledge to parents and to ask for their participation in local activities to implement it. [See page 32.]

Many states have already announced going projects. On December 14, the Connecticut Commission on Children and Youth met to initiate an intensive

Marquis Childs, columnist, took part in a panel discussion at one of the sessions of the Midcentury White House Confereonce

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statewide program based on its delegates' report. On December 15 and 16, the Kansas delegates to the White House Conference and other members of the governor's planning committee conducted a "Little White House Conference," as the annual meeting of the Kansas Council for Children and Youth, making specific plans for intensive education and action based on Conference findings and recommendations.

The Idaho White House Conference Committee is organizing four regional meetings early in 1951 to enable every county committee in the state to hear and discuss reports of the Washington meetings and to exchange ideas as to how county action already under way can capitalize upon Conference data.

Indiana is arranging for a midday meeting of over 1,000 parents and others whose work affects the lives of children from all over the state to develop projects which will help make a reality of the Conference goal—"For every child a fair chance. . . ."

State and local groups everywhere have recognized that discussion without action is as useless as gunpowder without a spark. Three fourths of the state Conference committees already have some money and staff to begin work on specific action programs. The others are weighing possibilities and searching for means to make effective their further participation in the Conference effort.

Many of the 464 national organizations participating in the Conference have already started to apply its findings.

The General Federation of Women's Clubs is launching a program geared to building freedom with youth, among its 5,000 clubs, with combined club and youth projects in recreation, employment, vocational guidance, safety, citizenship, and community betterment.

THE DAY FOLLOWING THE CONFERENCE, the home economists attending the meeting met as a group under the auspices of the American Home Economics Association and the Office of Education. These 135 specialists reviewed the Conference Platform, affirmed the major importance of family life education, and discussed ways of applying the knowledge of the various sciences concerned with children to family-centered programs and of stimulating research on some of the unanswered questions about child care.

One of the distinguishing features of the Midcentury White House Conference was the active and significant participation of the legal profession. During the meetings, representatives of national legal organizations, practicing lawyers, judges and law school instructors met and gave serious consideration to plans for a basic study of the law as it affects children. They also agreed to work on incorporating information about child development and family relationships in legal training and in trying to get basic concepts of family law into the training of the other professions that work with children and youth.

At one point or another almost every work group at the Conference concerned itself with the vital role of education. The National Education Association is planning a series of activities designed to bring the Conference findings before its more than a million members. As a start, a plan has been announced for a special White House Conference edition of the *NEA News,* and for materials to go to the more than 4,000 affiliated state and local organizations.

IMPORTANT HELP IS FORTHCOMING ALSO from the federal agencies concerned with children. For example, in the week following the Conference, the health and welfare field staff of the Children's Bureau met and planned ways in which they could work as consultants with official and voluntary state and local groups seeking to put the Conference recommendations into action.

The Extension Service of the Department of Agriculture held six days of post-Conference meetings of state and county extension workers and young people who participate in extension programs. The objective was to sift from the Conference recommendations those which had special pertinence for rural children and youth, to study them in the light of their own experience, and to lay out appropriate methods for their own participation in plans and projects ahead.

One youth representative from a farm community had never seen a trolley car before he came to the White House Conference, and twenty-eight of the thirty-six members of a state delegation from the Midwest had never before visited Washington. For participants like those and tens of thousands of others in "grass roots" areas, the Department of Agriculture Extension Service personnel planned regional and local conferences, the publication of special literature, leadership training courses, parent discussion groups, demonstration training in 4-H meetings, and further research related to Conference objectives.

Simultaneously, the federal Interdepartmental Committee on Children and Youth undertook a careful study of each of the Conference recommendations to determine how participating federal agencies could best help put them to work in practical ways.

In the meantime, the national staff has undertaken to get out quickly the materials necessary to help groups throughout the country move ahead. The following materials are available immediately and can be purchased at the Midcentury White House Conference office, FSA Building, Washington 25, D. C.:

(a) Children and Youth at the Midcentury: "A Graphic Presentation of Social and Economic Facts Important in the Lives of Children and Youth"; $1.00.

(b) Children and Youth at the Midcentury: "Report of the Advisory Council on Youth Participation, the Advisory Council on Participation of National Organizations, and the Advisory Council on Federal Government Participation"; $.75.

(c) Children and Youth at the Midcentury: "Report of State and Local Action"; $.75.

(d) An album of six 16-inch transcriptions, 12 sides, 33⅓ rpm, comprising a set of records with excerpts from the major addresses delivered at the Conference, including those of the President, Oscar R. Ewing, Dr. Benjamin Spock, Leonard W. Mayo, Margaret Mead, and others. These records can be played on any standard playback machine of the kind usually owned by clubs, schools, and churches. They can also be used for local radio programs. The cost of a set of 6 records is $10.

BY MID-SPRING, THE CONFERENCE Proceedings and a selection of major papers will be published. It is hoped, too, that by that time an inexpensive edition of the Fact Finding Digest will be available. The full Fact Finding Report is scheduled for publication in the early fall.

Much is therefore under way—on many fronts, in many ways, and with a spirit that bodes well for the future of America's children. In the words of the President of the United States:

"Invaluable as it is, the work that has already been done is only a prelude to that which must follow. We must not, and I am sure we will not, rest on our accomplishments up to now."

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What Bends the Twig?

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Science's new knowledge about factors which make or mar human personality —as summarized for the White House Conference on Children and Youth.

MARION ROBINSON

How can we help children develop into happy, responsible citizens? What conditions of life are necessary to such development? All good planning must begin with facts, and planning toward this important goal had to begin with very fundamental facts about children themselves.

To provide conferees with a point of departure for their deliberations on these comprehensive questions, the Conference had undertaken the somewhat overwhelming task of bringing together under one cover what is known about the making of the healthy personality and the implications of this knowledge for the conduct of social institutions. The resulting volume, known as the "Fact-Finding Report: a Digest," represents a year's work of over a hundred experts from many fields of endeavor, working under the leadership of Helen Witmer of the faculty of the School of Social Work, University of California at Los Angeles, and Ruth Kotinsky, educational philosophy expert. Issued in digest form in advance of the Conference, the complete report is to be printed in book form within the year. The report was produced under the guidance of a technical committee, the members of which were drawn from the fields of education, health, law, philosophy, psychology, religion, social work, and the social sciences.

Written in simple, readable, and well-organized fashion, the report is useful for both parent and professional. In fact, it is valuable reading for any citizen, since it not only informs, but makes clear the fact that all of us, even through casual contacts, share in the common job of "bringing up" the new generation. One of the report's outstanding qualities is a reassuring note in discussion of the sturdy naturalness of child development. Anxiety-ridden parents and other adults who have responsibility for growing children may well find in these pages balm for their wounds and confusions, along with an abundance of sound information.

This report acknowledges that while there is neither a complete theory nor one authoritative theory of personality development, there is a slowly accumulating body of knowledge to which many disciplines are contributing. And although "in none of these areas has scientific investigation gone beyond a promising beginning," it is the feeling of these experts that we must use what knowledge we do have as long as we use it "with caution and responsibility."

Taking into account the wide variety of definitions of "personality" which exist in current literature, the report takes time to present its own definition, an all-embracing concept. The system of physical and emotional reactions, the collection of ideas and cultures, and the consistent pattern through flux of behavior which represent the views of personality taken by the physiologist and psychologist, the sociologist and the psychiatrist are combined in this definition to make "a thinking, feeling, acting human being who conceives of himself as different from other individuals, and who *is* a personality, not *has* a personality."

Human development—physical, intellectual, emotional, spiritual—is "infinitely more complex than that of the flowering plant," says the report. Each organ, each mental capacity, each feeling has its own pattern, its own phases of development. To our knowledge of the physical and intellectual development of the human being, we have been able to add, in the last twenty years, a substantial amount of knowledge of emotional development. This was combined in material prepared for the report by Erik H. Erikson, until recently professor of psychology and lecturer in psychiatry at the University of California, to present a picture of the evolving of personality as it grows through a series of test periods in life experience. There is a sequence in this personal experience, just as there is in organ formation, says the report, and "the child can be trusted to follow inner laws of development," needing from adults chiefly "love, encouragement, and guidance."

Underlying the description of eight specific test periods in their chronological sequence is the idea that in each a component of personality develops as the central problem of the period is solved. Upon the quality of the solution depends the way the child approaches the next period with its central problem. Each of these problems is fundamental to life experience of the human being. As will be readily recognized, they recur constantly, and the personality component which results from the solution is won in degree, rather than in an absolute sense. However, say these experts, when each of the problems first appears it is "in its purest and most unequivocal form," and its first solution is "serious and decisive."

The first of the eight components of the healthy personality, the "sense of trust," grows slowly during the first year of life and comes to a climax at six to nine months of age. This, say the experts, is the most important component, chiefly because it emerges at the most vulnerable period of life. "The repeated experience of being hungry, seeing food, receiving food, and feeling relieved and comforted" is the primary source of the baby's assurance that the world is a dependable place, and at the same time his increasing ability to achieve simple coordination "gives him a sense of trust in his own body."

The end of the child's first year of life sees him embarked on a period of about two years when "much of his energy goes into asserting his own mind and will," the report goes on, and in this period he is building upon his sense of trust a "sense of autonomy." There

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is much at stake here for he is making his first try at becoming an independent human being "who is able to use help and guidance of others in important matters." If the adults in his life are able to meet this challenging period by offering him a healthy balance of firmness and freedom, he is able to learn "self control without loss of self esteem." Physiologically he is gaining increased use of his muscle system in these years, and is usually able to learn bladder and bowel control. The crucial nature of the toilet training period is stressed by many experts, perhaps because this may become the battleground on which the child tests his developing sense of autonomy against the wishes of his parents.

The fourth and fifth years are years of enterprise, imagination, and creative activity, says the report, during which the child is developing his third personality component—the "sense of initiative." He "wants to find out what kind of person he can be," and his impulse is toward "intrusive, vigorous learning." Because many things are forbidden him and many others literally impossible of achievement, "phantasy substitutes for literal execution of desires," but, the writers note, "the meagerest equipment provides materials for high imaginings." It is in this period, too, that the conscience begins to be active, sharing guidance of his deeds with influences outside himself. In fact, clinicians have found that children in this stage of development suffer guilt for mere thoughts, imagined deeds. "Great care must be taken," says the report, "that youngsters . . . do not have to feel guilty for having dared to dream."

For the next five or six years of his life, the child begins to feel what these writers refer to as "the sense of accomplishment." Children who have gotten through previous periods successfully and have gained well-developed feelings of trust, autonomy, and initiative are pretty well assured of further progress, although research has not yet made clear whether this is because children who had a favorable environment thus far, are likely to continue to have it, or because in these six years the personality has become strong enough to make the grade from then on. At any rate, after a period of exuberant imagination, it appears to be the natural thing for a child to want to settle down to learning how to do things and do them well. "In contrast to the violent inner upheavals of previous periods," says the report, "this is a period of calm, steady growth." The child acquires knowledge, skill, and ability to cooperate, laying the groundwork for responsible citizenship.

With the onset of adolescence, which is for many young people, "a period of storm and stress," when previous certainties are questioned and previous continuities can no longer be relied on," the natural needs of the person lead him to begin to develop a "sense of identity," as a step toward "finding his role in society." This personality development is, of course, accompanied by rapid physical growth and many physiological changes. The feeling of identity, achievement of which is symbolized in the adolescent clique, the special mode of dress, gesture, and language, is crucially important to the young person, for it is his "only safeguard against the lawlessness of his biological drives and the authority of an overweaning conscience."

As the adolescent edges into adulthood he reaches out for experiences which will further the growth of three other important personality components: a sense of intimacy, a parental sense, and a sense of integrity. The first of these leans heavily upon a successful achievement of the adolescent sense of identity, the experts believe. "High school age boys and girls," they write, "use each other's company for an endless verbal examination of what each other thinks, feels, and wants to do," as a means of defining identity. In late adolescence the need is for "fusion with the essence of other people, and communion with their own inner resources."

WHAT IS REFERRED TO AS THE PARENTAL sense is almost a literal phrase, for it is used to designate the "interest in producing and caring for children of one's own," as well as the attitude of interest toward other people's children and "a parental kind of responsibility toward the products of creative activity of other sorts." However, they add, "the mere desire for or possession of children does not indicate that this component of the healthy personality has developed." Rather, the essential element is "to nourish and nurture what has been produced," and "the ability to accept one's own children as a trust of the community, in contrast to extensions of one's own personality or merely as beings that one happens to live with."

The fine flowering of the healthy personality comes about with the unfolding of the sense of integrity, a term here defined in a much more profound sense than we are accustomed to use it. Dominant ideals such as honor, courage, faith, self-discipline "become the core of the healthy personality's integration," and the individual is "able to accept his individual life cycle and the people who have become significant to it as meaningful within the segment of history in which he lives." Such an integration results in a "new and different love of one's parents," and acceptance of responsibility for one's own life, as well as "comradeship with men and women of any times who have created orders, objects, and sayings conveying human dignity and love." Perhaps it is easier to flavor what is in the minds of these writers by looking at their description of the adult who has not achieved the sense of integrity: "The adult who lacks integrity in this sense may wish he could live life over again. . . . He fears death and cannot accept his one and only life cycle as the ultimate of life. In the extreme, he experiences disgust and despair."

IT MUST BE BORNE IN MIND THAT NO child lives and grows by the clock and calendar. Children differ greatly in their comparative manner and speed of growth. These writers make it clear that the ages at which these personality components develop are approximate, and that the fact that children deal with the central problem of various periods differently does not mean one is more adequate than another. The ultimate goal is the healthy personality and this "can develop just as well in the child who grows by fits and starts as in one who grows at a steady, even pace."

As for the differences themselves, it is well-known that fifty years ago scientists regarded constitutional factors as entirely responsible, and "parents were considered fortunate or unfortunate depending on what kind of children they had happened to acquire." Then environment was "discovered," and environmental factors became the clue to the whole matter. Today, these writers report, "scientific opinion stands somewhere in the middle." Research has established that there are inherited potentialities. Some studies suggest that certain physical potentialities and some habits of response are influenced by prenatal conditions. Findings of some scientists indicate that certain physiological factors in some people, along with their psychological components, are unalterable by environment. And there is much research and observation over the last twenty-five years which show the profound influence of environ-

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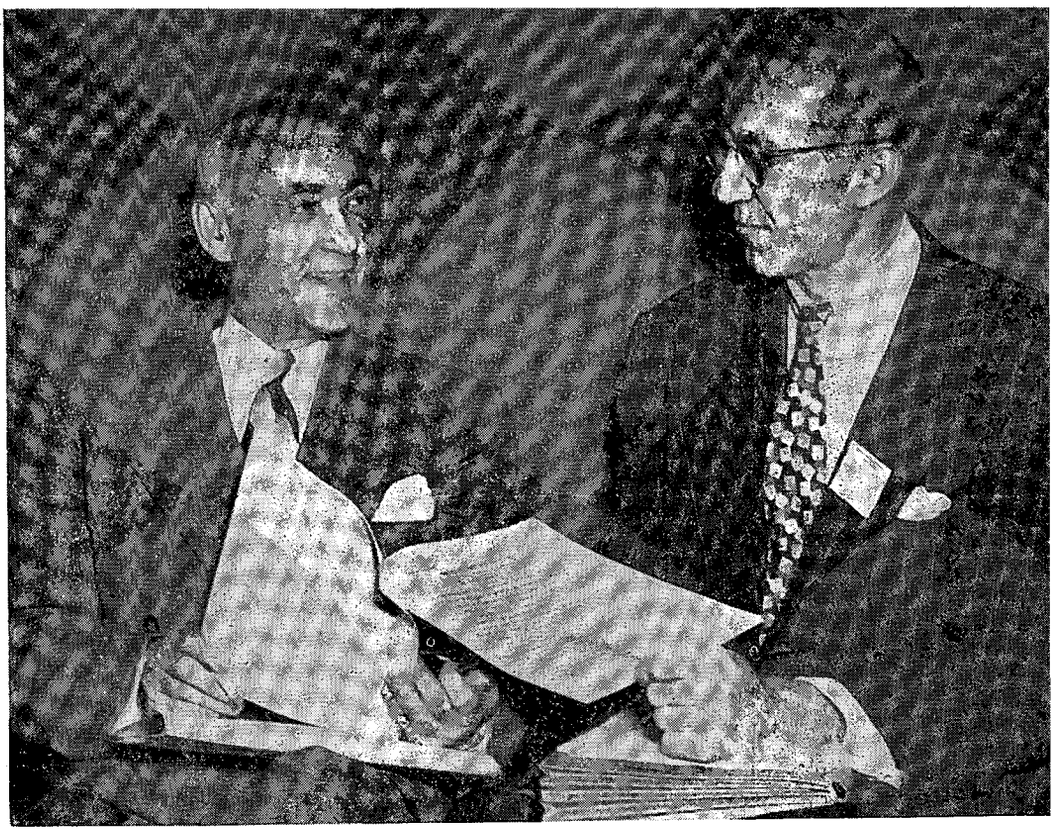
mental factors upon both child and adult.

On the whole, these technicians seem less concerned with the origin of difference than with the way it is regarded by parents and others who have responsibility for children in their formative years. Study and observation, notably work reported for this document by Sibylle Escalona, of The Menninger Foundation's department of research, show that children differ, among other things, in degree of activity, sensitivity, intellectual endowment, and rhythm of growth. Given these differences, what do we do with them? These experts bring out the fact that all these differences affect the way children move through the various stages of development, and their consequent needs. Thus the sensitive baby may have a more complex time in acquiring a sense of trust and may need protection from stimulation, and the very active child may find more frustration in developing a sense of autonomy, and will require a different balance of firmness and freedom. Again, studies show that a child's intellectual functioning definitely changes with changes in home, school, and his emotional state, and these writers feel that the link between intellectual endowment and social and phychological factors needs to be better understood.



Two conferees who pleaded for a better application of knowledge—Leonard W. Mayo, left, and Dr. Benjamin Spock.

THESE EXPERTS TAKE THE SAME ATTITUDE toward the fact of illness, another situation which may make a child "different." There is evidence that physical illness slows up psychological growth—indeed, that it may cause the child to regress to earlier stages of development. However, it is pointed out that handling based on understanding of the effects of illness upon child development can prevent or minimize this. For instance, the blow that illness or accident can deal to a newly developed sense of trust can be mitigated by loving care, and the threat to autonomy of confining illness can be relieved by not strictly and needlessly enforcing sickroom rules and regulations. The results of poor nourishment and low vitality are less well understood than the effects of acute illness, but studies have shown that they affect every organ and function of the body and that they profoundly influence emotional states. A knotty problem here is that the poorly nourished child may need much more encouragement from adults, but, as the writers point out, in many communities where children are malnourished, adults are too, and consequently they may find it hard to rise to the child's needs.

What is required of parents in helping children through the periods of growth while these personality components are slowly evolving? These writers shy away from dealing out a tidy list of techniques, as so many before them have tried to do. While acknowledging that parent-child relations are "decisive" they repeatedly stress the fact that the key to success lies in the attitude of the parent. Techniques, they feel, are valuable only when employed by "parents who carry them out with confidence and genuine concern for the child's well-being." The most important factor in child development, they say, is "the over-all tone of the home," and the successful rearing of children is "pretty much what loving and emotionally well-adjusted parents do spontaneously." The baby is a wonderfully sturdy bit of humanity, and does not necessarily suffer from handling by an inexperienced parent. It is the sensitiveness of response to his needs and the general attitude of love and concern that turn the trick.

There is here a more realistic note than may be found in most similar literature. Parent-child relations are discussed in terms of a "mutual adjustment" which must be made. In speaking of the value of loving and solicitous care, they point out that "even the most rejecting parents" feel some love for their children and that one of their difficulties is in expressing it. "Human beings are most apt to be angry at those they love most because they are the ones who can most disappoint and hurt them," the report says. "Parents who are not very secure are especially open to hurts and disappointments and nobody is sufficiently secure to avoid them altogether."

Specific clues for parents lie in some of the detailed discussions and descriptions of the various stages through which the child progresses. During the years when he is developing the sense of autonomy, for instance, "the child must experience over and over the right to make a choice," and though he needs a parent's firmness he also needs his backing in his effort to stand on his own feet. Again, when his sense of initiative is foremost, he "needs leeway and encouragement . . . and a minimum of punishment." When he moves into the period of accomplishment, the chief danger is that he will have too many conditions about him that "lead to the development of inadequacy and inferiority." The adolescent period calls for flexibility and patience, for parents have to be willing to support their young people in their desire to be grown up, yet to provide a background of continuity and reassurance for them as they try out their wings.

The personalities of both parents and

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children and, consequently, their relationships, are affected by conditions under which they live. The report deals with two such constituents in American life—economic factors, and prejudice and discrimination.

IT IS WELL KNOWN THAT WORRY AND INsecurity are detrimental to the efficiency and productivity of wage earners. Though less is known about the effect of poor job conditions on home life, it appears that men and women do carry such dissatisfactions into the home, and that there is a specific effect on the parents' ability to convey to children "a sense of trust in the future and a feeling of dignity and worth in productive effort." Similarly, the impersonality of jobs in mass production, the lack of feeling of individual importance, and the insecurity regarding tenure and rights have their repercussions on family life.

The report cites a group of studies showing that children from lower income families are more likely to be maladjusted. At the other end of the economic scale it has been observed that children of families having wealth and position are often under great pressure for conformity and achievement, having in many cases the additional drawback of being denied close association with parents and especially with the mother in infancy.

The precise effects of prejudice and discrimination on health and personality are not nearly so well documented as the fact that it exists, says the report. It is probable that through the parents, children are very early affected by these unfortunate trends in our culture. If not, the full impact hits them when, at adolescence, they move out into the world with the problem of establishing identity and finding their role in society. Their sense of trust and initiative is greatly affected and though some pull through, it is almost always with "a great burden of resentment and bitterness." Studies of children in kindergarten and first and second grades show, among children of minority groups, that feelings of inadequacy and inferiority already are emerging.

The culture into which the child is born and the institutions which are part of that culture have a most pervasive influence, not only on him but on those who surround him. In general, says the report, our American culture works "with" the child's inner nature in his earliest years. The loving, protective care of babies is part of a cherished tradition. Prizing independence, initiative, and productiveness, we do well at encouraging the child to develop autonomy, initiative, and accomplishment. With adolescence, a more difficult situation arises. Unlike some other cultures, we tend to delay initiation of the young person into full acceptance as a member of society until he is well into adulthood. At this time, too, he is called upon to face conflicting cultures, a painful experience particularly for young persons of minority groups.

The American culture is "somewhat less successful in the area of intimacy," too, for its ideal is "the subordination of sexuality and sensuality to a life of work, duty, and worship," although there is evidence that a deep natural instinct of young people is "the desire to sense intimately the full flavor of personality of others."

Achievement of the "sense of integrity" is made difficult, since "our culture, with its rapidly changing technology and its diversity of value standards, leaves much for the individual to work out for himself." However, the writers add, in our "American dream" as well as in the Judeo-Christian tradition, there are "ideals and values aplenty," and "it is highly important that these be brought into prominence and that the promises of American life be kept."

But, in this diverse land many different cultures exist, some of them rooted in other countries or civilizations. There also are regional differences in culture patterns. Some of these are in direct conflict. A research project of contemporary culture made at Columbia University, involving parents and children of four backgrounds common in American communities, revealed antithetical attitudes toward such ideas as what constitutes good behavior in children, the value of schooling, the fostering of responsibility in the young. Placed against the background of these and other facts submitted for the report by cultural anthropologists, the understanding of children's behavior on the part of the teachers, religious, recreational, and health workers, social workers, correctional workers, and others coming close to children, reveals many complexities.

A SUBSTANTIAL PART OF THE REPORT IS devoted to analysis of the institutions represented by such personnel and implications of the report's findings for their work. Emphasis is placed on the importance of the "day-to-day" contact. It is pointed out that there are opportunities in the schoolroom to help a youngster regain lost ground in acquiring feelings of trust, autonomy, and initiative; that in the recreation group, the adolescent may find some of the intimacy and identity he craves; that health workers are in a strategic position to help parents gain confidence which will enable them to "create an atmosphere in which the parents' love and enjoyment of the child can flourish."

There is probably no citizen of our great country who would not covet for our children a happy and fruitful progression through the years when the components of the healthy personality are developing. But parents themselves struggle with the results of damaging life experience upon their own personalities. And there are many factors in the world in which our children must grow up which are less conducive to healthy development than we would wish. Realistically enough, the writers acknowledge that "the health of personality is determined by the preponderance of the favorable over the unfavorable, as well as the compensation the individual develops to cope with disability."

FINALLY, THEIRS IS A PHILOSOPHY OF hope and respect for the sensitive, sturdy, volatile, durable thing we call a human being:

"Even in adulthood a reasonably healthy personality is sometimes secured in spite of previous misfortunes in the developmental sequence. New sources of trust may be found. Fortunate events and circumstances may aid the individual in his struggle to feel autonomous. Imagination and initiative may be spurred by new responsibilities, and feelings of inferiority be overcome by successful achievement. Even late in life an individual may arrive at a true sense of who he is and what he has to do and may be able to win through to a feeling of intimacy with others and to joy in producing and giving."

Evidence of such change, they point out, is to be found in the case records of psychiatrists and social workers, and common sense observations tell us that life itself has brought about similar change in many folk. They acknowledge that much remains to be learned about the therapeutic value of everyday experiences. For some enterprising researcher, perhaps this idea will prove a fruitful challenge in behalf of our children in the next decade.

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Gist of the Recommendations

A condensation of the sixty-eight recommendations approved at the final session of the Conference.

STUDY AND RESEARCH—The expansion of research on child development and adjustment, under both public and voluntary auspices. Further study of the underlying causes of broken homes. Continuous scientific study of needs, objectives, alternatives, and effectiveness of all services. Comprehensive study of present body of laws, both state and federal, relating to children and families.

CITIZEN RESPONSIBILITY—Acceptance of citizen responsibility for providing adequate community programs in education, health, recreation, and social service, making full use of voluntary and public resources. Broad representation from community groups including youth, and the use of technical assistance in planning and carrying out programs.

FAMILY LIFE EDUCATION—Availability of education for family life through educational, health, religious, and welfare agencies. Efforts to foster parents' feelings of self-confidence, especially through the tone of child development material.

EDUCATION—Federal aid to education "without federal control" for educational services in tax-supported public schools, "the issue of auxiliary services to be considered on its merits in separate legislation." The inclusion of nursery schools and kindergartens as a part of public educational opportunity. The extension of opportunities for higher education to qualified youth unable to pay their way. Abolition of racial segregation in education.

HEALTH—Establishment of standards of quality of hospital care for mothers and children, including recognition of the importance of avoiding unnecessary anxiety. Federal aid to states and localities to stimulate the early development of local health services.

RECREATION—The provision of recreation centers in all neighborhoods where children live. Establishment of official state recreation agencies to provide counsel to local communities, particularly small towns and rural areas. Participation of youth in recreation planning.

RELIGION—Recognition of "religious and ethical concepts as essential to the development of spiritual values" and of their importance to the home and in institutions of organized religion. Affirmation of the principle of separation of church and state, and opposition to the use of the public schools directly or indirectly for religious educational purposes. The expansion and strengthening of religious personnel, services, and activities in rural communities and areas of special economic need.

SOCIAL SERVICES—The establishment of minimum standards and licensing provisions for agencies and institutions providing for the foster care of children, including day care. Community education regarding the role of social service in adoption, the strengthening of adoption legislation for greater protection to the child, the development of qualified adoption agencies.

ECONOMIC AID—The provision of free school lunches for children unable to pay. The elimination of "restrictive eligibility provisions" from public assistance programs. Adequate federal grants to the states for public assistance, varied according to ability of the states to pay. Expansion of old age and survivors insurance to workers not presently included. Similar improvement of state unemployment insurance laws. A greater variety of community services to increase the real income of lower income groups.

DISCRIMINATION—Support of the President's Civil Rights program. Prompt steps to "eliminate all types of racial and religious segregation." Appeal to the federal government to abolish segregation in the nation's capital.

THE HANDICAPPED—Expansion of programs for the handicapped to provide for physical, mental, emotional, and occupational needs. The provision of educational programs and services to the handicapped by local boards of education, with leadership and stimulation from state departments of education.

MIGRANTS—Extension of protection and services to children of migrants, especially in regard to transportation, housing, sanitation, health and educational services, social benefits, labor exploitation.

EMPLOYMENT—Extension of guidance and counseling services in schools, employment offices, and youth-serving agencies and recognition of the emotional factors involved in vocational adjustment. Establishment and enforcement of standards of youth employment, including minimum age, wages, and working conditions. Provision of appropriate part time work opportunities for young people.

HOUSING—Maintenance of standards of construction. Full speed ahead in construction of 810,000 low rent housing units. Development of a cooperative housing program for the middle-incomed. Consideration of fami-

More of the Conference

Among the articles scheduled for future issues of *The Survey* are some with their basis in White House Conference addresses. Among these is "Socio-Economic Influences on Learning," by Allison Davis, to appear in February, 1951.

"Everybody's Business — the Young of the Nation," by Kathryn Close in *The Survey* for December 1950, reports on pre-Conference fact-finding activities in the states and localities.

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lies of every size and communities of every type in housing planning. Support of slum clearance and urban redevelopment. Application of the need principle in the provision of defense housing. Recognition of health, recreation, and social needs in housing development.

COURTS AND THE POLICE—The development of standards of juvenile services by police departments. The availability of courts with judges qualified in legal, social, and psychological understanding and qualified probation and auxiliary staff for all cases requiring court action in regard to children. Coordination of preventive and treatment functions of social agencies, police, courts, institutions, and after-care agencies.

THE PROFESSIONS—Instruction in human growth and change in all professional schools. The provision of in-service training opportunities. Recognition that all professions dealing with children have "a core of common experience on fundamental concepts of human behavior," including the need to consider the total person as well as any specific disorder. Inclusion in law schools of courses on the relationship of law to the other professions and of courses on law in schools of social work. Steps at national, state, and local levels to increase the output of professional schools.

MASS COMMUNICATIONS—Acceptance of social responsibility on the part of industry and community agencies using television and other mass media. Reservation by the Federal Communications Commission of TV channels for noncommercial educational stations.

DEFENSE—Sharing by all individuals and groups of sacrifices in the present emergency, and some use of the services of men with disabilities. Improvement of personnel, evaluation, placement, vocational guidance and counseling, by civilian and military agencies to promote the utilization of our total human resources. Provision of adequate allowances for servicemen's families. Participation of children and youth in a way to minimize their anxieties. Provision of needed services to families of servicemen moving to new communities.

INTERNATIONAL—Full support to voluntary efforts and governmental programs of an international character in behalf of children and youth.

Pledge to Children

To you, our children, who hold within you our most cherished hopes, we, the members of the Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth, relying on your full response, make this pledge:

From your earliest infancy we give you our love, so that you may grow with trust in yourself and in others.

We will recognize your worth as a person and we will help you to strengthen your sense of belonging.

We will respect your right to be yourself and at the same time help you to understand the rights of others, so that you may experience cooperative living.

We will help you develop initiative and imagination, so that you may have the opportunity freely to create.

We will encourage your curiosity and your pride in workmanship, so that you may have the satisfaction that comes from achievement.

We will provide the conditions for wholesome play that will add to your learning, to your social experience, and to your happiness.

We will illustrate by precept and example the value of integrity and the importance of moral courage.

We will encourage you always to seek the truth.

We will open the way for you to enjoy the arts and to use them for deepening your understanding of life.

We will work to rid ourselves of prejudice and discrimination, so that together we may achieve a truly democratic society.

We will work to lift the standard of living and to improve our economic practices, so that you may have the material basis for a full life.

We will provide you with rewarding educational opportunities, so that you may develop your talents and contribute to a better world.

We will protect you against exploitation and undue hazards and help you grow in health and strength.

We will work to conserve and improve family life and, as needed, to provide foster care according to your inherent rights.

We will intensify our search for new knowledge in order to guide you more effectively as you develop your potentialities.

As you grow from child to youth to adult, establishing a family life of your own and accepting larger social responsibilities, we will work with you to improve conditions for all children and youth.

Aware that these promises to you cannot be fully met in a world at war, we ask you to join us in a firm dedication to the building of a world society based on freedom, justice, and mutual respect.

So may you grow in joy, in faith in God and in man, and in those qualities of vision and of the spirit that will sustain us all and give us new hope for the future.

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CONFERENCE PERSONALITIES

BACK IN THE YEAR OF THE FIRST White House Conference on Children the baby crop of Piqua, Ohio, included ELMA PHILLIPSON, daughter of a Salvation Army couple. This month Miss Phillipson, now an attractive woman of forty-one, assumes the responsibility of heading the follow-up staff of the Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth. But she counts more on experience than astrological prediction to guide her in keeping alive the enthusiasm of the many thousands of persons who were fired by the recent conclave to work for improved opportunities for children.

As secretary for the past year of the Conference's Advisory Council of National Organizations she was in the thick of the preparations. At times she found herself in situations requiring the delicacy of a high grade diplomat, for the more than 400 organizations in the Council represented almost as many views and functions, their only common denominator being a concern for the young. However, she modestly disclaims any credit for a fact in which she obviously takes great pleasure—that the distrusts and ruffled tempers of some earlier committee and Council meetings gradually gave way to a real accord, resulting in a voluminous report and numerous recommendations, as well as in the Council's decision to continue.

Miss Phillipson seems to be the kind of person who thrives on difficulties. Even as a fledgling graduate from Berea College, Kentucky, she found opportunity rather than discouragement in a great depression. She entered social work by way of a private family agency in Toledo, because in that field "there were jobs available and much work to be done," but it did not take her long to see that this was a career in which she could find real satisfaction. A move to Chicago and a job as investigator with the Unemployment Relief Service provided an opportunity to begin professional training through part time work at the University of Chicago's School of Social Service Administration.

After three years, the determined student left the Chicago agency and took a job as governess so that she would have more time to devote to her studies, but eventually "ran out of courses that were not given at a time when [she] had to take care of the child." The Ohio-Mississippi floods of 1937 provided her with an opportunity to complete professional training, for in six months of service as a Red Cross disaster relief worker she managed to save up enough money to go back to school and get her Master's degree.

Miss Phillipson's specialty, medical social work, has brought her successively responsible jobs with hospitals in Chicago, at Duke University, and in Washington, D. C. She had been director of social service for eight years at the Children's Hospital of the District of Columbia when she first joined the White House Conference staff. In her new capacity as executive director she sees the staff's present purpose as involving the provision of consultation, advice, and stimulation to the many hundreds of groups now working throughout the country to carry out its recommendations.

✦ ✦ ✦

NEXT MONTH, NEARLY A YEAR AND A half after becoming a member of the faculty of the School of Social Work at the University of California in Los Angeles, HELEN WITMER, well-known social research specialist, will show up in the class rooms as professor of social welfare in charge of research. The long delay in her personal appearance on the UCLA campus has been occasioned by a leave of absence, received almost simultaneously with her university appointment, to head the fact-finding staff of the Midcentury White House Conference.

Miss Witmer's great love, professionally speaking, lies in sifting and combining other people's material, adding ideas of her own, and presenting the whole in language intelligible to the general public. Thus she could hardly have been expected to resist the opportunity to conduct the preparation of the child development materials for the Conference (see page 27). Moreover, she says, the job appealed to her as an opportunity to help parents "get over being so scared" by all the child-rearing literature that has put such "a fear of the psychologist" into them that many "have lost confidence in themselves."

"If parents could get a real idea of what is involved in personality development," she recently maintained, "they would see that they are not to blame for all the frustrations that the child must inevitably meet. With their anxiety thus relieved they would realize that they had a challenging job to do that is different with each child."

Teaching will not be new to this far from ivory-towered research specialist. Pennsylvania Dutch in origin, she began her working career as a high school teacher in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. But her real claim to pedagogic fame comes from her twenty years on the faculty of the Smith College School of Social Work. Today she is somewhat amused at the reason which led her to leave high school teaching to seek her Master's degree and then her doctorate at the University of Wisconsin.

"I wanted to go back to school because college life was so much fun."

Fun apparently did not prevent young Helen Witmer from accomplishment, for in addition to her Wisconsin degree she managed to pick up a social work certificate at Bryn Mawr College and a two-year Social Science Research Council scholarship at the London School of Economics.

Back in the United States in time for the depression, Miss Witmer had a few of what she now calls "crazy jobs," before landing at Smith. Her arrangements there gave her enough time to do considerable free lance research, resulting in a number of books, notably "Psychiatric Clinics for Children," a study of guidance services, and "Psychiatric Interviews with Children."

In all her years in the field of social research, Miss Witmer apparently has never let a fascination with statistics dim her warm view of people and life. She had her own private way of expressing the aims of the recent White House Conference, which would probably apply to all her professional efforts: "To help produce a generation of Americans that can take modern life and so be able to make a kind of life that is easier to take."

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THE COMMON WELFARE

Public Welfare Faces Forward

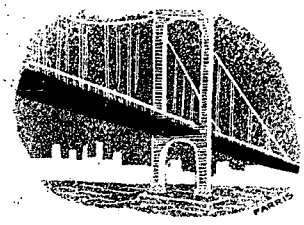
GERTRUDE SPRINGER

No one should blame the comfortable residents of Chicago's big Edgewater Beach Hotel if, for three wintry days early in December, they suspected that the "welfare state" had taken them over bodily. For here at the annual round table conference of the American Public Welfare Association was "the welfare" in person, upwards of a thousand of them, from the big wheels that turn in Washington, right down the line through states, counties, and cities to the last cog—the local worker who figures out a budget for Mrs. So-and-So whose husband has left her with six children and a misery in her back.

This was the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the APWA, and it needed no chart to show the extraordinary progress that the organization and what it stands for has made in those two decades. Old timers, now dignified as "the founders," harked back to the basement room in a Boston church at a meeting of the National Conference of Social Work in 1930, where a handful of them gathered to work out an organization that would afford more cohesion than was found in the National Conference. When these old timers looked about them at the Chicago meeting, where all the states except Arizona and Vermont were represented, when they sensed the firm foundation of the movement itself and the vigor and conviction of the men and women who implement it, they knew that they had lived through a period when social miracles could, and indeed had happened.

But this meeting was not intent on counting past gains but rather in appraising present problems and future challenges. Only one of the sessions indulged in looking backward. This was the annual dinner where the founders, a dozen or more of whom were present, were honored, and where Louis Brownlow, the admitted daddy of the organization, recalled its early tribulations. On this occasion the association presented its highest honor—the W. S. Terry, Jr., Memorial Merit Award—to Ruth Taylor the soon-to-retire director of the Westchester (N.Y.) County Department of Public Welfare who, said Agnes Meyer of Washington, D. C., speaking for the association, "has brought a flexible mind, wisdom, efficiency, and unfailing courage to thirty-five years of public welfare service."

This was called a round table conference and indeed it was just that. There were few formal meetings but rather a succession of small informal ones, where everyone could find people with whom to discuss common problems. There were three general sessions and as many panel discussions, where aspects of the welfare scene were presented by authoritative speakers.



The first of the general sessions heard from James J. Wadsworth, acting director of Civil Defense of the National Security Resources Board, the plain if unpalatable facts about civil defense in the event of attack. Civil defense, he said, must be a government function built on the existing government structure with the welfare agencies and institutions in the first line. He deplored the "take to the hills" mentality evident among many city dwellers and urged that all communities "fight the city" as a captain fights his ship. Evacuation is a dangerous word, he said. There can be no mass stampede from critical target areas for the simple reason that there can be no surrender of our production areas. Civil defense must function at the community, neighborhood, and family level with individual courage and initiative as its best weapons.

At a second general session, Governor Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois took a long grave look at the field of public welfare in its relation to the world picture. "In the light of the grim realities," he said, "two facts stand out with clarity: an increasingly apparent need for strong and progressive public welfare services . . . and the equally apparent fact that we are going to have diminishing funds with which to implement our programs." The cost of government, he said, has become the pre-occupation of the whole country. "Can we do more for less? I know we must. I think we can. God knows there is much more to do."

No less outspoken was Leon Keyserling, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers to the President, who spoke at the final session on "Public Welfare in Our Changing Economy."

He sketched the extent and reasons for our economic strength and found many "aspects of optimism," especially in "the greatest non-secret weapon the American people possess, our complex of business and industrial strength." We face, he went on, a burden of indefinite duration which will mean a slowing down of the pace of general social progress, but those who are working in the welfare field "should not regard themselves as being relegated to the side lines. . . . The preservation of equality of opportunity, of facilities for health protection and general education, the continuance of a feeling of reasonable economic security on the part of the average family, will remain sources of strength in the trying times ahead."

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As the general sessions of the conference were notable for the forthrightness of the speakers so too were the several panel discussions which rivaled the general sessions in the interest they aroused.

At one of these, on "The Role of Public Welfare in Prevention and Rehabilitation," the discussion turned on family breakdown and financial dependency, their causes and effects, with much evidence indicating the need for closer cooperation among all agencies at all levels to cope with the size and nature of the situation. Family breakdown, it was agreed, is the most important single factor in the national problem of rehabilitation as it relates to public welfare.

THE PANEL, "WHICH WAY OLD AGE Security?" brought out keen exchanges between the participants who came from the Social Security Administration, the Canadian Department of Health and Welfare, the Social Security Department of the United Automobile Workers, CIO, and the General Electric Company. The relative merits of contributory social insurance *versus* flat grant benefits were argued and the assertion generally supported that the problem is less one of income maintenance — which was more or less taken for granted—than of retraining, medical care, and social services to keep larger numbers of persons in the work force.

All the panels were outspoken, none more so than the one, "The Public Looks at Public Welfare." Here newspaper people from New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, and Milwaukee traded observations—or perhaps more accurately, punches—with welfare people on what the public knows and doesn't know, and why. The newspaper folk were of the opinion that the public accepts the necessity for welfare work, knows that it is very expensive but has no clear idea of what it is trying to do, and that the welfare people are oversensitive to criticism.

The welfare folk in turn held that the press overlooked the fact that their job is to administer social legislation not to serve as guardians of the morals of the clients. They felt that the press too often slanted the news of the public agencies and blew up occasional unfortunate incidents.

The upshot of it all was general agreement that the agencies needed better press relations but that the best of relations would not cover up a bad job; that they needed to present their case simply, fully, without defensive coloration. But, "Don't depend too much on newspapers for getting your story across. Take your arguments to the people. If your public relations at the grass roots are favorable the papers will reflect what they find there."

The group meetings were so numerous that it is possible to give only an indication of their wide range. In every

Send Your Nominations Now For 1951 Award

THE SURVEY AWARD RECOGNIZING "IMAGINATIVE and constructive contribution to social work will be presented for the fourth time during the National Conference of Social Work, meeting in Atlantic City May 13 to 18.

The award is a bronze plaque which is a memorial to the late Edward T. Devine, one of the founders of *The Survey*. The selection, however, is not made by *The Survey*, but by an independent committee, the 1951 membership of which is here announced with warm appreciation.

Ollie Randall, *consultant on Services for the Aged, Community Service Society, New York City,* is the chairman of the Award Committee, the members of which are:

W. Miller Barbour, *executive secretary, Urban League of Denver.*

Lucy P. Carner, *executive secretary, Division on Education and Recreation, Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago.*

Gunnar Dybwad, *supervisor, Children's Division, Michigan Department of Social Welfare, Lansing.*

A. A. Heckman, *executive secretary, Family Service, St. Paul.*

M. Luella Hunt, *executive secretary, Conference of Catholic Charities, Pittsburgh.*

Lillian J. Johnson, *executive secretary, Ryther Child Center, Seattle.*

John C. Kidneigh, *director, School of Social Work, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.*

Rosemary Morrissey, *public relations counsel, Orleans Parish, Department of Public Welfare, Louisiana.*

Henry Redkey, rehabilitation specialist for the blind, *Federal Security Agency.*

Arthur G. Rotch, *secretary, Committee of the Permanent Charity Fund, Inc., Boston.*

Isidore Sobeloff, *executive director, Jewish Welfare Federation, Detroit.*

Mrs. Sumner Spaulding, *member Advisory Committee on Citizen Participation of the Community Chests and Councils and the National Social Welfare Assembly, Beverly Hills, Calif.*

Forrester B. Washington, *director, Atlanta University School of Social Work, Atlanta.*

Benjamin Youngdahl, *dean, The George Warren Brown School of Social Work, Washington University, St. Louis.*

High rank or distinguished reputation is in no sense necessary to the winner of the Survey Awards. One of the hopes in establishing it was that it might serve to bring to light unrecognized but "imaginative and constructive" achievement in the social work profession.

Readers are urged to send their nominations at once. Each name must be accompanied by a descriptive statement as to why the sender believes it should be specially honored.

No nominations received after February 28 can be considered. Last year, several names came in too late to be included. Please act promptly.

Address: The Survey Award, 112 East 19 Street, New York 3, N. Y.

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case the discussion turned on matters of administration and relationships rather than professional techniques. There were special meetings of board members, child welfare personnel, state field representatives, fiscal officers, public relations consultants, and research and statistics personnel. The larger round tables, each with two or three sessions, went into such matters as services to children, medical care, social work education, casework management, welfare policy, services to the blind, patterns of reorganization in public welfare, the use of mental health facilities, and the relationship of institutions to the whole welfare program.

THROUGH ALL THE MEETINGS OF THE conference ran a current of discussion on the next steps in the development of public welfare with which the association might well concern itself. Several years ago, the association, through its Committee on Public Welfare Policy, put out a statement looking to the future, which served as a frame of reference for its activities, but recent social legislation has realized many of those next steps. For several months past, the committee has been at work drafting a Statement of Public Welfare Principles. Designated as "a preliminary draft, for discussion purposes only," the statement was widely commented on at the Chicago meeting with indications that it would receive even wider discussion on the home fronts. It is in effect a credo, in simple terms of the common denominator of public welfare philosophy to which all persons concerned can subscribe and say, "This is where I stand." It is hoped that before the next annual meeting it will be ready to come before the membership for action.

The APWA elected as its president Fred K. Hoehler, director of the Illinois Department of Public Welfare. New chairman of the National Council of State Public Assistance and Welfare Administrators is Arthur Rivers of South Carolina, and of the Council of Local Administrators, V. S. Harshbarger of St. Louis.

Ever since the association was weaned from its initial foundation support it has had somewhat parlous financial going. But during the past year, under the leadership of its retiring president, Joseph E. Baldwin of Milwaukee, and its director, Loula Dunn, it has lived within its modest budget and has so increased its membership that annual dues now represent 62 percent of its income. "I hope we're over the hump," said Miss Dunn, "but in any case we know we're on the right road and we propose to keep right on keeping on."

Mrs. Springer was for twelve years managing editor of the Survey Midmonthly *and author of the popular "Miss Bailey Says—" series on public welfare.*

What Rent Control—in 1951?

"THE PRESENT RENT CONTROL LAW [passed June, 1950] was enacted before the outbreak of hostilities in Korea. It was passed for the orderly transition to a free market in a peacetime economy. There has been a marked change in the situation since the law was passed. . . . Therefore we must consider anew the whole problem of rent control in relation to the pressure now being created by the defense program . . . "

Thus President Truman presented the situation on November 27 to the chairmen of the Senate and House Banking and Currency Committees in a letter urging prompt extension of federal rent control to March 31, 1951, to give the incoming Congress time to review the situation and decide whether further extension was necessary because of the present emergency. This date is three months beyond the automatic decontrol date of December 31 set by the 1950 legislation and applicable to all communities except cities which have elected to continue control until June 30, 1951. A few days later, W. Stuart Symington, chairman of the National Security Resources Board, told the House Committee rent controls were vital to defense.

Despite strong and vocal opposition within and without Congress, in early December the House (221 to 152) approved legislation following the President's recommendation, and the Senate (55 to 28) passed a measure providing for a two months' extension. In conference the longer period was accepted, and final congressional action was taken with a minimum of debate. This action to extend rent control to March 31, which indicates the 81st Congress' change of intent since last June, is a stop-gap measure.

While continuing rent control because of military and industrial mobilization and housing shortages in defense areas appears necessary, the 1951 proposal may have hard going. The opposition is still active. As late as last November, the National Association of Real Estate Boards adopted a policy statement approving action taken by Congress in June for the termination of rent control through local option provisions. Subsequently its president declared over a nationwide NBC radio and television network that "there is no factual evidence of a need for rent control."

Under the interim legislation, the law operates much as it has in the past six months. New York State will continue to function under its own law, and local communities still may take themselves out from under rent control between now and March 31. (It might be recalled, however, that a U. S. District Court recently ruled that the action which Los Angeles had taken for decontrol by the adoption of a simple resolution rather than by the passage of an ordinance and confirmation by referendum was not legal. Other decontrolled cities had passed similar resolutions.)

Here is the box score as of mid-December: Federal controls had ended in 982 communities by action of the Federal Housing Expediter or by local governing bodies. Some 800 communities had elected to continue rent control. In all, rent control was in effect in about 3,000 communities with a total population of about 60,000,000 and with more than 8,000,000 rental units. During the first ten months of 1950, landlords had been allowed to raise rents in 83.6 of the more than 500,000 petitions for adjustments, with an average increase of 17.8 percent.

What the 1951 rent control picture will be after March 31 depends on world conditions, and on the 82nd Congress.

Health, Welfare, and Defense

THIRTY-ONE AUTHORITIES ENGAGED IN various aspect of the defense program were on hand to give facts in a series of discussion sessions at the National Social Welfare Assembly's sixth annual meeting, held November 20 and 21 at the Hotel New Yorker, New York City. Summarizing the sessions at the luncheon, which was attended by 250 health and welfare leaders from the Assembly's sixty-one affiliate organizations, Leonard W. Mayo, Assembly executive committee member and director of the Association for the Aid of Crippled

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Children, gave a picture of peak employment, production, and personal income, increasing population mobility, shifting community pressures, and increasing dependence problems of families of the military.

Thanks to government and voluntary cooperation, said Mr. Mayo, social protection programs were "ahead of the game," but he reported acute need for qualified personnel for emergency military and civilian services. He stressed extension of employment of the handicapped and older people, agreed that people should be fully informed of health and welfare's needs and assets, and called for regular health and welfare services to be continued at full strength while the defense program is being built.

Speaking at the same session, Frank L. Weil, New York City attorney and re-elected president of the Assembly, urged readiness for public service in any "grave emergency." We must become a "fortress state," said Mr. Weil, but must not yield to militarism, remembering that ours is essentially a civilian army. He urged that government take the people into confidence, as far as military security makes it possible.

Working Toward Better Race Relations

WAYS OF ACHIEVING FAIR EMPLOYment practices and nondiscrimination in racial policies in housing were the chief focus of the fourth annual meeting of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials, held in New York City, November 15 to 17. The Association, composed largely of members of local and state commissions on discrimination and of voluntary organizations dealing with racial, religious, ethnic, and cultural relations, has as its purposes the effective exchange of information, improvement of work standards and coordination of programs. Its conference consequently is essentially a work shop with the give and take that characterize small roundtable sessions. This year there were fifteen roundtables devoted to such practical problems as the use of police in tension situations, getting bipartisan backing for legislative proposals, the application of research to practice, the achievement of mutual good will among tenants of a nonsegregated housing project, making FEPC laws work.

Four unresolved problems emerged at one of the FEPC roundtables: the lack of widespread awareness of the law and its machinery; the employment in many instances of a few Negroes as a "showcase"; the small number of complaints in relation to the prevalence of discrimination; the need of more responsibility on the part of both public and private vocational guidance programs.

Another meeting underscored the importance of forming local citizens groups who are "experts on housing laws" to "keep the heat on" those responsible for carrying them out. The extension of FEPC laws to student selection in colleges and universities was urged in another group.

An unhappy announcement made at the meeting was of the coming dissolution of the American Council on Race Relations, the board of which, faced by financial difficulties, voted to discontinue operations. Since its inception the council has acted as secretary to NAIRO.

Family Service Workers Meet in New York

ABOUT A THOUSAND REPRESENTATIVES from among 249 family service agencies over the country turned up at Hotel Statler in New York City on November 16, 17, and 18 to attend the 1950 biennial meeting of the Family Association of America. There with the help of economists, psychiatrists, anthropologists, and educators they assessed the needs of families living in a time of world tension, and attempted to prescribe ways to meet those needs.

A sharp reversal in the manpower situation was reported at the opening session by Harold Wool, chief of the Manpower Branch of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. There will be an increased inflow of women, teen-age youth, and older persons in jobs, he said, urging social workers to help older people, handicapped, and others who have had recent employment difficulties, to realize they can fulfill a productive role in our economy.

An additional inflation of at least 25 percent as a result of mobilization spending, was predicted by Dr. Seymour E. Harris, professor of economics at Harvard University. The low income groups, chiefly the old, poorly organized workers, non-white, and the poorly educated, must be protected in the next ten years even though "general consumption" falls, he declared. In order to preclude maldistribution of income, he said, "it will be necessary to restrain trade union leaders and the farm bloc and to control prices through proper negotiation of war contracts and ultimately through price control and heavy taxes on excess profits."

Attention was drawn to the plight of the lower middle class which constitutes "30 percent of all Americans," by Dr. Allison Davis, of University of Chicago's Department of Education. Because of taxes and inflation, this group have had to abandon the effort to save, and give up "respectable" standards, such as owning their own homes, buying adequate insurance, and educating their children, he declared.

The "almost fantastic specialization in social motherhood among middle class families" was discussed by Dr. Weston La Barre, Duke University anthropologist. He questioned whether this served best to nurture a generation which may have to face the dangers of total war. The major family problem of today he termed the question of how to bring up children with enough aggressiveness not to be "Milquetoasts," and yet with enough social understanding to promote a warless world.

The underlying factor in our national insecurity is that "more and more people are separated from traditional patterns of behavior," declared Dr. Julius V. Coleman of the Yale University School of Medicine. Because of our insecurity, we overstress the destructiveness of the atom bomb, even though it presents a real danger. Parents seem to be inclined to exaggerate the importance of common "growing-up" problems of their children, he pointed out, adding that if children are allowed to work out their own problems, "time will usually be on the side of the healthy solution."

In time of tension, social work can help families face bewildering complications and find channels for their disturbed feelings, said Charlotte Towle, professor of social service administration, University of Chicago. Miss Towle made a plea for professional social workers to realize that an important contribution can be made in on-going community services as well as in emergency services.

During the three-day conference, delegates met for discussion in a series of

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twenty-five groups, covering a wide range of special and technical subjects. In one of these, Stanley E. Davies, executive, Community Service Society of New York, said an intake study in his organization revealed mental health problems in 45 percent of the cases studied. On the same program, Dr. Robert H. Dysinger of the U. S. Public Health Service reported that in the past three years appropriations under the National Mental Health Act had under-written sixty-six research projects, 27 percent of which were concerned with child development and adjustment. In addition, 980 training stipends have been granted to graduate students, and $3,500,000 have been paid to educational institutions for training of mental health personnel. He reported that all states and territories were now participating in the program and that 145 new state clinics have been established.

At the dinner meeting, which was presided over by Brooks Potter, president of FSAA's board of directors, awards in ten categories of public information on family service and family education were presented to representatives of nearly thirty family agencies. Presentations were made by Mrs. Victor Shaw, of Fairmont, W. Va., newly appointed chairman of the organization's committee on public relations.

Dr. George F. Davidson, Canada's deputy minister of health and welfare, making the dinner address, urged conferes to gain understanding of the "diversity of dilemmas" faced by families in all parts of the world rather than taking it for granted that our problems represent "the universal problems of humanity everywhere." Africa's population of two hundred million, for instance, is probably "not much concerned with the atom bomb," insecurity "as we know it," or the "conflict of ideologies." However, we do have in common with most of the people of the world, "the struggle between traditionalism and change."

In North America, Dr. Davidson felt, the great problem is uncertainty of what, in the absence of a tradition to bequeath, we can encourage our children to hang on to. Pointing to the fact that the people in Asia, representing half the world's population, are today "in the throes of social change and upheaval," he said we can be sure of the fact that in the years to come "change will prevail." Parents, social scientists, and leaders of social progress, said the speaker, face the challenge of seeing that in a world of change and crisis, "the family which is the keystone of our society is not left to find its way alone in its search for these unchanging values in a changing world."

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. . . People believe that *to love* is simple but that *to be loved* is most difficult. In our marketing orientation people think they are not loved because they are not "attractive" enough, attractiveness being based on anything from looks, dress, intelligence, money, to social position and prestige. They do not know that the real problem is not the difficulty of being loved but the difficulty of loving; that one is loved only if one can love, if one's capacity to love produces love in another person, that the capacity for love, not for its counterfeit, is a most difficult achievement. . . .

There is no more convincing proof that the injunction "Love thy neighbor as thyself" is the most important form of living and that its violation is the basic cause of unhappiness and mental illness than the evidence gathered by the psychoanalyst. . . .

Anyone who loves only one person and does not love "his neighbor" demonstrates that his love for one person is an attachment of submission or of domination but not love. Furthermore, anyone who loves his neighbor but does not love himself shows that the love of his neighbor is not genuine. Love is based on an attitude of affirmation and respect, and if this attitude does not also exist toward oneself, who is after all only another human being and another neighbor, it does not exist at all. The human reality behind the concept of man's love for God in humanistic religion is man's ability to love productively, to love without greed, without submission and domination, to love from the fullness of his personality, just as God's love is a symbol for love out of strength and not out of weakness.

—Erich Fromm, *Psychoanalysis and Religion.*

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Searchlight on the Schools

ORDWAY TEAD

EDUCATION AND MORALS, An Experimentalist Philosophy of Education, by John L. Childs. Appleton-Century-Crofts. $2.75

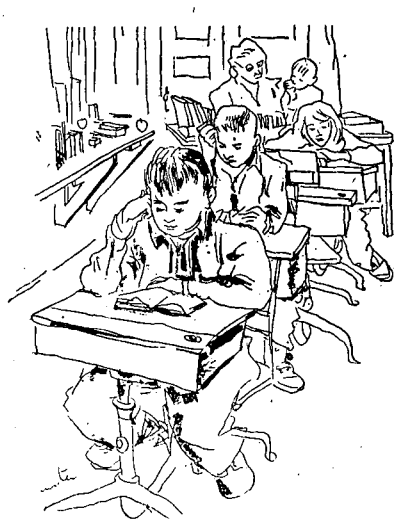
THE BLIND SPOT IN AMERICAN PUBLIC EDUCATION, by Clyde Lemont Hay. Macmillan. $2

OUR CHILDREN AND OUR SCHOOLS, by Lucy Sprague Mitchell. Simon and Schuster. $4

EVIDENCE CONTINUES TO PILE UP THAT the American people are in an ambivalent state of mind about the condition of education. On the one hand, we have believed that our educational development was, on the whole, one of our distinctive democratic national achievements. Yet, on the other hand, the apple of discord has been tossed into our midst, and the professional education associations, individual teachers, lay critics, parent-teacher organizations, public bodies of inquiry, and *Life* magazine are all hard at work telling us where we have fallen short and what we should do about it in corrective terms. Never has there been as much, as keen, and as contradictory advice proffered us as in the last ten years. An evaluation of the books and reports is no easy task, in part because of the profusion of new offerings and in part because they stem from such diversified basic philosophical outlooks. The three books before us supply a characteristic case in point. Their one common factor is a belief that education is critically important and vitally in need of improvement.

THE POINT OF VIEW OF PROFESSOR Childs has become widely known and influential to a whole generation of his students of education at Columbia University, who know his vigorous exposition of a scientific, naturalistic humanism as the foundation of his educational views. For him, devotion to democracy become virtually the core of a religion; and the moral mandate in which education is involved is aid in helping individuals to make choices among "genuine life-alternatives." "The process of selecting and rejecting, of fostering and hindering, of distinguishing the lovely from the unlovely, and of discriminating the important from the unimportant, is unending in education."

Insistence upon the requirement of informed and tested (or testable) decisions in all individual conduct runs persuasively through the entire presentation. All of this portion of the analysis would be subscribed to by Mr. Hay, the second author here being reviewed. Where they part company is in their view of what should be embodied in nurture, "in enrichment and liberation." The actual moral problem, affirms Professor Childs, is that "of discovering the means by which the nurture of the child can be made a process of enrichment and liberation." But that this process should include any acknowledgment of a transcendent element in life, any possibility of human relationship to some animating source and resource beyond itself—it is here that Childs and Hay become representatives of two typical and different approaches.



And thus it is that the moralities, or moral aspects of human interests, which Childs is interpreting are those of "primary experience," of free inquiry, of an open society, of community, and of patriotism. And he wisely insists that "moral behavior is thus a function of the entire experience of the child, and all education is inescapably a form of character education." Surely recognition of this truth has to become one of the underlying presuppositions of everyone concerned who is with educational reconstruction.

BUT CHILDS HAS HIS OWN KIND OF absolute, his own authoritarianism, that would seem to be more ruthless than it needs to be in inspiring the individual to search for "public data." His position is well summarized thus:

"Experimental inquiry reaches unity of belief, not by reliance on external authority and suppression of difference, not by persuasion through propaganda, not by the individualistic process of inner intuition, but by universalizing the community of inquirers, by confronting and utilizing doubt to test and expand beliefs, and by employing empirical and public data and methods that foster uncoerced cooperation in the search for knowledge and standards. Through the use of these procedures, experimental inquiry has socialized the process by which man comes to know. The morality implicit in this socialized method of attaining belief defines a primary objective in any program of education concerned to treat human beings not as mere means, but as ends in themselves."

Our loves and friendships, our esthetic enjoyments of great art and of nature, our worship and contemplation, our devotion to standards of truth-seeking and excellence—these are in some sense

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"public" events but surely they are also more than that. They have an intrinsic worth, which is of course experiential. But our total belief or faith about the roots and the exemplifying of love, goodness and beauty, may conceivably (and indeed rationally) be held *as faith,* without doing violence to a "morality of inquiry." And such faith as experienced in living may well have reference to some sublime process beyond the purely mundane or humanly knowable. Such faith, moreover, need not be, as Childs would presumably hold, in a "supernatural" reality so much as in a suprahuman one. Such a faith that man is not all, does not preclude test or guidance by an "observable outcome." But it does widen the horizon, raise the sights, allow a warmer and friendlier air to be breathed. It does allow man to relate himself to a cosmos in which he is not wholly a stranger or a victim of a preposterous hoax.

I am only saying that for many the implications of Childs' "morality of inquiry" will tend to bring a certain astringent limiting of awareness, whether he intends this or not. And the kind of toughmindedness he seems to favor might well exclude some of those "tenderminded" aspirants who would contend that their "overbeliefs," as William James called them, lent poetry and meaning and graciousness to the human career beyond these qualities or aspects of experience which Childs might approve.

And it is at this point that many, and I believe an increasing number, would say that while going along with all his admirable and profound human concern, they find him deficient in a total philosophy or outlook which would inject the necessary and rightful emotional warmth and evocative spiritual maturity into the educational process itself. The difference between this author and others not so unequivocably "scientific" would not, in other words, be in zeal and commitment so much as in what might fairly be called depth of feeling about imponderables.

DR. HAY NO DOUBT WRITES AS A Protestant Christian clergyman in discussing the absence of religion as the "blind spot" in public education. Yet his statement is gratifyingly free of sectarian preconceptions; and one only wishes that he had been clearer in his defining of religion. For his emphasis upon moral behavior is actually close to Childs' conception of morality. This organic and socialized view of moral effort helps to explain the summary paragraph which follows:

"We are now beginning to make several frank recognitions: (1) of the necessity of making basic moral and religious education universal; (2) of the importance of making it an integral part of the unitary educational experience of the pupil instead of treating it as something separated from his daily life and as optional and of questionable value; (3) of the inadequacy of the church program of religious education from the standpoint both of trained teaching personnel and also of the time devoted to this basic interest; (4) of the illogical separation of basic religious orientation from the education provided by the state; and (5) of the fact that to put basic moral and religious guidance into the very foundation of public-school education is the only way by which we can hope to develop religious appreciations in the 50 percent or more of our school-age population now untouched by any church agency."

This book, in brief, is not a pamphleteering effort for "released time." Rather it is a highminded plea for wider recognition by citizens of all faiths and no faith that there is content and matter now ignored in public education which should be incorporated into the instruction. For it is this author's belief that "conference and experimentation would develop a curriculum of fundamental religious principles which could be taught on a strictly non-sectarian basis and without touching on a single item of controversial debate." A "town meeting of the air" discussion featuring Childs and Hay might be an edifying occasion!

MRS. MITCHELL'S BOOK HAS A DIFferent intention. Her purpose is to arm all friends of good education with background knowledge as to what to look for in a well conducted school and what to encourage our schools to be and to do to equip youngsters for contemporary living. Actually an even wider aim is pursued because a good deal of methodology is embodied in her nearly five hundred pages; and this will have primary value for teachers themselves. Indeed, one wonders whether it might not have been wise to have issued this copious and helpful material as two volumes, one for lay use and the other for the professional audience which so sorely needs this record of techniques. Mrs. Mitchell's contribution is such a rich and rewarding one that it will be a pity if this source work does not reach the teachers-in-training who need its philosophy and practice.

Books like these three, despite their diversity of emphasis, are heartening evidences that a yeast is at work in American education which should gradually leaven the lump, if the interested and the informed will do their parts.

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Ordway Tead is the chairman of the Board of Higher Education in New York City, and also chairman of the board of trustees of Briarcliff Junior College.

Other New Books

THE SECOND WORLD WAR, Vol. IV. THE HINGE OF FATE. Winston S. Churchill. Houghton Mifflin. $6

TO THE EPIC AND OVERWHELMING merits of its predecessors, there has been added for this volume the virtue of uncanny timeliness. Its appearance coincides now with the darkest crisis in our national life in twenty years, or maybe much longer. And the story of the book includes the only crisis of any comparable magnitude, the grim bitter months after Pearl Harbor when everything went badly, before the hinge turned and the upswing was on its way.

This narrative continues Mr. Churchill's incomparable report of great and tragic events linked together around the world during the war. But back of the events themselves we are given to observe the responsible endeavor to comprehend the essential values of the appalling panorama and to make the decisions that would lead to victory. The reader can only pray for equal handling of the decisions shaping up today.

Throughout these pages, the long first half of uninterrupted disaster and then the assured process of throwing the Axis completely out of Africa, the Churchill spirit blazes serenely — "In War: Resolution; In Defeat: Defiance."

Although this turning of the tide before our eyes gives the volume a special drama of its own, which must be unique no matter how much is added, its special appeal today must rest on its tie-in with the news. Here we see disasters and another government in difficulties because of them. And also we

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are given one of the most vivid and revealing of all pictures of British and American relations with Russia when, without their help, Russia could not have survived—or *vice versa*.

Even Churchill's magnificent exuberance was not impervious and early in March 1942 he wrote confidentially to President Roosevelt, "When I reflect how I have longed and prayed for the entry of the United States into the war, I find it difficult to realize how gravely our British affairs have deteriorated by what has happened since December 7."

Scores of essential cargoes were being sunk every week, the off-shore waters of the United States were a U-boat picnic ground. Never were losses so heavy as in those months. Then there was the fall of Singapore, loss of the Dutch East Indies, hope deferred again and again in the African desert.

Churchill met the "would-be profiteers of disaster" face-on while still bruised by Tobruk's fall. The motion had been put that the House "has no confidence in the central direction of the war." Among his answering points, the Prime Minister reminded his colleagues, "If democracy and Parliamentary institutions are to triumph in this war it is absolutely necessary that governments resting upon them shall be able to act and dare, that the servants of the Crown should not be harassed by nagging and snarling, that enemy propaganda shall not be fed needlessly out of our hands, and our reputation disparaged and undermined throughout the world."

Of course he was sustained, and his central direction of the war began shortly to yield the profits of victory.

The story of dealings with Russia is also one of the most fascinating themes of the volume. It was never easy. A vast convoy in the Arctic was almost entirely destroyed by German planes and submarines in July, and Churchill had to report the disaster to Premier Stalin. His account of his conversations in Moscow are among the best of all the printed reports on such visits—filled with vivid detail, mannerly comment, sturdy regard for the realities.

Looking back from today's troubles with Russia, the question naturally comes up, whether the aid we gave was well spent. In his view of the question Churchill could never forget the stresses of early 1942, as when he wrote to Roosevelt, "you will see at once what our plight will be should the Russian defense of the Caucasus be beaten down."

Under the inspiration of such calm elevation and heroism as flows on and on through this personal history, the reader is inclined to say with Roosevelt, "It's fun to be in the same decade with you." For the sake of later decades, of course, one could wish the story were more condensed. We have now had three and a half years of the war; the record already approaches "The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire." Later generations may stumble. But perhaps, with his matchless powers, the author will go on beyond the mere record, finally, to a condensed revelation of his vision of a New Jerusalem for all time to come. GEORGE BRITT

UNRAVELING JUVENILE DELINQUENCY, by Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck. Commonwealth Fund. $5

WITH THE HELP OF RESEARCH TECHnicians and professional experts, the Gluecks compare 500 repetitive delinquent boys with 500 case-matched nondelinquent boys. The marked differences between the two are used to discover causal components as well as preschool predictors of delinquency and nondelinquency.

Many old favorites of past thinking and research fall by the wayside. The insistance upon psychopathic personality or neurotic character formation as major explanations of delinquency seems to be factually out of order. Health and glandular differences were quite negligible. The emotional conflicts and dynamics uncovered were not nearly as deep as our psychiatric social workers and our Freudians need to have them.

Two rather new (i.e. for delinquency research in America) indicators yielded very outstanding differentials; anthropometric body measurements, patterned after William Sheldon; and the results of the Rorschach test.

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One of the biggest differentials in the whole study, namely association with delinquent, gang, and older companions, gets left out of the final reckoning. Evidently the transmission of pattern from one to another is no longer important when everybody is looking for

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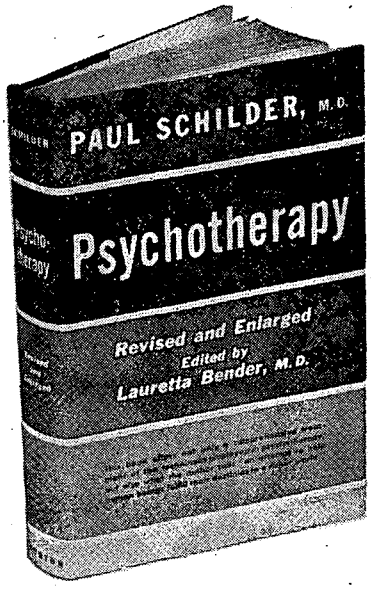

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early character formation. Likewise, retardation and misconduct in and truancy from school, which also very markedly differentiate delinquent from nondelinquent in this study, are left out of the final reckoning. Perhaps they come too late for the bias of early character formation or are merely prognostic of the more dire events to come.

The Gluecks selected five factors in the family situation, five character traits revealed by the Rorschach, and five personality traits obtained from psychiatric examination, each set of which gave equally very high and separate prediction of delinquency and nondelinquency: discipline of father, supervision by mother, affection of father for boy, affection of mother for boy, cohesiveness of family; social assertion, defiance, suspicion, destructiveness, emotional liability; adventurous, extroverted in action, suggestible, stubborn, emotionally unstable. From the standpoint of practical administration at preschool age, the use of the five family items is most feasible.

The present study shows a much better research design and seems to have had much better technical assistance than the previous studies undertaken by the Gluecks. But it needs to be duplicated in a different city with similar methods but with a different crew of experts and a different team of executive directors.

WALTER C. RECKLESS
Professor of Social Administration
Ohio State University

THE HUMAN COMMUNITY: Its Philosophy and Practice for a Time of Crisis, by Baker Brownell. Harper. $4

VARIOUS DEFINITIONS HAVE BEEN offered for the nature of the human community. As Baker Brownell says in this most provocative book, the word "community" is hard to pin down, being a fluid one. It is Dr. Brownell's achievement, however, that he has not only developed a philosophy of community life and written of it with clarity and illumination, but, looking upon the immense changes taking place in our society today, he has analyzed here some of the most important things that a democratic people must comprehend about their modes of living.

This is disturbing reading. There will be those who will differ from his definition of community or the critical analysis of modern urban life, which Dr. Brownell sees as overwhelming us and destroying something infinitely precious to human society, the ability of men to live "face to face" in a situation where their lives are fully related to each other. "In cities people usually are organized on a piecework basis, not as human beings, but as functional fragments coordinated in a great machine . . . The Western world is obsessed by urbanism. . . . In the long history of communal life never so large a segment of the human stock, perhaps, has been subject to this common cause of decay. . . . I do not know the answers to these questions that so many people ask, but I am sure at least that the answer is neither a return to the old days nor remaining in the urban rottenness of today. A new way of life is necessary."

One cannot read this book and remain complacent. Likewise, few will fail to be impressed by the deep insight of its author, his moving concern that men live with one another as whole men, and that they discover and rediscover the human values of community life as against the purely functional. In his insistence on the importance of the small community he is definitely not turning against the technologies of our modern culture nor does he plead for an impossible return to a purely agrarian society. This is important to understand. In fact he sees new, small communities emerging, not necessarily based upon agriculture, but made possible by the new technology. By many examples, chiefly drawn from his work as director of that notable experiment in community self-development, the Montana Study, he points out how the people of some small communities have assimilated our technologies into truly human values. And these stories of modern American people, interspersed throughout the text, enliven it immensely, and make this a genuinely engrossing book.

Baker Brownell writes with felicity. There is here at once a certain downrightness and hard hitting quality along with the prose of a poet. Though the author is a philosopher this is not the work of a man aloof from life. His belief that all men can and should live in a fashion which will satisfy and develop their true nature animates all his thinking, which as here recorded constitutes, perhaps, the summing up of a life's experience.

P. ALSTON WARING
New Hope, Pennsylvania

PSYCHOANALYSIS AND RELIGION, by Erich Fromm. Yale University Press. $2.50

ERICH FROMM'S PENETRATING SMALL volume really belongs in the tradition of the Hebrew prophets. As Micah asked what is required of us but

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to do justice and to love mercy, so Fromm asks whether a man "lives love and thinks truth." This is the crucial religious question, "not whether man returns to religion and believes in God. . . . "

This book carries forward the argument that was begun in "Man for Himself," concerning psychology and ethics. As ethics was there set on a humanistic basis, in the tradition of Spinoza, so it is now clear that the author's conception of religion is rooted in his humanistic and prophetic ethics.

Religion, he writes, is "any system of thought and action shared by a group which gives the individual a frame of orientation and an object of devotion." But a sharp distinction must be made between authoritarian and humanistic religion. The former involves "surrender to a power transcending man," while humanistic religion "is centered around man and his strength."

In authoritarian religion, God is a symbol of power over man. Man projects the best he has onto God and thus impoverishes himself." In humanistic religion, God is a symbol "of man's own powers." What of the fact that man is dependent and limited? the reply: ". . . it is on thing to recognize one's dependence and limitations, and it is something entirely different to indulge in this dependence, to worship the forces on which one depends."

In the progressive sense in which the author understands it, psychoanalysis is neither for nor against generic religion. But it does suggest that man has inevitably some frame of orientation and object of devotion even if it be but the "private religion" of neurosis. The message, then, is of purification of the inevitable religious interest, to make it serve love and truth.

Progressive religionists will be deeply in debt to the author for this analysis, for it is a penetrating exposé of modern forms of idolatry. Yet we may question particularly three points in the argument.

First, granted that the atheism is merely conceptual, can metaphysics be so lightly dealt with as here? Even Spinoza's humanism could not do that.

Second, is the mystical trend in religion as unambiguously humanistic as is suggested, or may it be also an unintentionally obscurantist refuge for tired rationalists?

Third, are there sociological unrealities about the advocacy of individual humanistic religion, despite the author's knowledge as social psychologist and psychoanalyst?

When men associate together religiously, their religion, too, gets involved in the contingencies of social existence and becomes fuzzy. Do we purify solely by encapsulating ourselves with the prophetic truth, or also by working toward the true church within the visible church? Is the prophet solely a thinker, or is he also a participator?

SEWARD HILTNER
Associate Professor of Pastoral Theology
University of Chicago

DOCTORS COURAGEOUS, by Edward H. Hume, M.D. Harper. $3.50

HOW BETTER THAN IN SUCH A BOOK as this can agnostics, social skeptics and the know-nothing minority be persuaded that faith and science are identical in purpose when wisely combined with works of hand, head, and heart. Here are the lives that give the answers to doubters, bring revolution by evolutionary means, and bind mankind together as no formalities of governments ever have done.

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HAVEN EMERSON, M.D.
Professor Emeritus of Public Health
College of Physicians and Surgeons
Columbia University

POWER AND SOCIETY, by Harold D. Lasswell and Abraham Kaplan. Yale University Press. $4

COLLABORATION BETWEEN A LEADING political scientist and a young philosopher has produced an outstanding contribution to the systematic theory of the social sciences. It originated in a research project on wartime communications. The wartime partnership of the two authors has since been dissolved; Mr. Lasswell, the senior partner, has returned to his professorship at the Yale Law School, while Mr. Kaplan, a philosopher trained at the University of Chicago, has joined the teaching staff of the University of California in Los Angeles. Their common work does not represent a descriptive study of the political trends and forces of today. It aims rather to provide a basic framework for communicating the present hypotheses and findings of political science. Nevertheless, it is focused on two most urgent tasks of the present situation, the well-being of the people and the control of violence.

Being a book of political theory, it is not easy reading. Yet, its study will repay the close attention demanded by the subject matter. The book is divided into three interconnected parts. The first part deals with the conduct of persons, with the various perspectives of action and with organized groups of various complexity. The second part takes up the political interaction of these various persons and groups. This interaction expresses itself in patterns of influence and power, is manifested in—and affected by—symbols, and stabilized in characteristic political practices. These political practices serve power purposes and power functions which are discussed in part 3. These functions are organized in power structures and in the power process, the pattern of all political activities in a given period.

Thus the book establishes a conceptual framework for political inquiry. It integrates with ease politics and law, sociology and social psychology. For the serious student it will be the starting point for many fruitful investigations of his own into the complex relationship of political forces.

HANS KOHN
The City College of New York

BLINDNESS—Modern Approaches to the Unseen Environment, edited by Paul A. Zahl. Princeton University Press. $7.50

MATERIAL HERE COMPILED BY THIRTY-one authors represents the result of what the Committee on Sensory Devices of the National Research Council originally intended to be a scientific treatise describing certain wartime efforts

(Continued on page 46)

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(Continued from page 44)

to develop sensory aids for the blind. Fortunately, those in charge of this production were sensitive to the fact that a broader report would more adequately serve the purpose. So we have in "Blindness" an excellent source book of information on the blind. The contributions of the several authors are arranged under seven main divisions: History and Welfare; Education and Psychology; Vocational Considerations; The Military Blinded; Time-Tested Boons to the Blind; Exploration of New Technological Horizons; and Ophthalmological Factors. It is a book which holds within its generous covers an easily accessible storehouse of factual information concerning the blind in the modern world but not nearly so much information concerning the modern world and its reactions to the blind.

This marks the first time that someone from outside the field of work for the blind has organized a symposium on the subject of blindness. This perhaps accounts for the healthy fact that relative newcomers to the field make rich contributions side by side with experts who have given so much in the past. The combination is refreshing.

Asst. Director KATHERN F. GRUBER
American Foundation for the Blind

INTERVIEW WITH INDIA, by John Frederick Muehl. John Day. $3.50

INDIA AND THE UNITED STATES: Political and Economic Relations, by Lawrence K. Rosinger. Macmillan. $2.75

AUTHOR MUEHL HAS WRITTEN TWO unique books about India. What makes "Interview With India" and his previous volume, "American Sahib" so enticing and exciting is the rare blend of anger, humor, and sympathy, in a prose which flows, not evenly, but like a stream at floodtide. The result is cultural interpretation in a new key.

Investigator Muehl sees a perverted religion as the major cause of India's deepening squalor, disease, and degeneration. His feeling about Indian degradation is something more than mere indignation or even anger. It effervesces at times into a personalized hatred. The greedy landlords *(zemindars)*, debauched priests, decadent Brahmins, and brutalized money-lenders all come to be objects of his seething hate. According to Mr. Muehl nothing short of a thoroughgoing social revolution will suffice to make independent India genuinely free.

In the light of the above mood it is

(Continued on page 48)

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AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, Inc. (Quakers) (1917); 20 S. 12th St., Philadelphia, 7; Lewis M. Hoskins, Executive Secretary; Clarence E. Pickett, Honorary Secretary. Activities: The Committee represents the Society of Friends in relief and social welfare services on a nonsectarian basis and without discrimination of race or nationality. Present activities include the following: relief and rehabilitation projects in Austria, China, France, Germany, India, Israel, Italy, Japan, Pakistan; refugee aid in the United States and abroad; race relations, including a job opportunities program and a visiting lectureship; economic relations, including an industrial relations seminar and youth projects of internships in industry and cooperatives; international relations, including institutes of international relations for high school age and adults in communities on the United States and seminars for foreign and American students in the United States, Europe and Asia; self-help housing projects in cities and rural areas; and youth projects for young people, in addition to the internships, institutes, and seminars mentioned above, including work camps in the United States, Mexico and Europe, and Institutional Service Units in state mental and correctional institutions.

AMERICAN HEARING SOCIETY—817 14th St., N.W., Fifth Floor, Washington 5, D. C. A national organization devoted to prevention of deafness, conservation of hearing and rehabilitation of the hard of hearing. Monthly publication, HEARING NEWS, $3.00 a year. Literature for sale. Information given concerning problems of the hard of hearing. Field Services. C. Stewart Nash, M.D., President; Harry P. Wareham, Executive Vice President.

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NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF THE DEAF, Byron B. Burnes, President, 210 Ridgeway Avenue, Oakland 11, California; Robert M. Greenmun, Secretary-Treasurer, 713 North Madison Street, Rome, New York. Organized 1880, Incorporated 1900. Objects: Educational, Social, Industrial Welfare of the Deaf, Quadrennial National Conventions. Official Organ, The Silent Worker, 982 Cragmont Avenue, Berkeley 8, California; $3.50 year. Lists achievements of deaf in Industry, Education, Sports, and Religion. Section for Parents of Deaf Children.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON ALCOHOLISM, INC., (a division of The Yale Plan on Alcoholism), 2 East 103rd Street, New York 29, N. Y. A non-profit organization established in 1944, to aid in the education of the public in matters pertaining to alcoholism. It does not take sides in the Wet-Dry controversy. It provides speakers to interested groups and distributes factual unbiased literature. It organizes citizen's committees in communities throughout the country, and sponsors and guides these local committees in programs of education and action in their communities, designed to meet this great medical and social problem. Through these local affiliates it promotes and establishes facilities for the rehabilitation of the alcoholic. It promotes prevention of alcoholism through education and rehabilitation.

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THE NATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR INFANTILE PARALYSIS, INC., 120 Broadway, New York 5, N. Y. A non-profit organization pledged to lead, direct and unify the fight against infantile paralysis and supported by the March of Dimes. Through more than 2,800 Chapters serving every county of the nation, it helps pay for the best available care and treatment for polio patients whose families cannot pay full costs unaided, regardless of age, race, creed or color, and assists in staffing and equipping local polio centers. It supports scientific investigation into the cause, prevention, cure and treatment of infantile paralysis and finances the professional training of scientific and medical personnel. It maintains a year-round program of public information and education about the disease.

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THE NATIONAL VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE ASSOCIATION, Campbell B. Beard, Executive Secretary, 1424 16th St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C., is the professional organization for counselors and others engaged and interested in vocational guidance and the publishers of OCCUPATIONS, the Vocational Guidance Journal.

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Letters and Life

from page 46

surprising to discover the author's sly and subtle use of humor. He never laughs at the citizens of India, but he often laughs with those of his Indian friends who see India's plight as a sardonic, cosmic joke.

During his experiences as a visitor in numerous Indian villages Mr. Muehl became something more than an external observer. As a result, he almost succeeds in viewing Indian life from the "inside," that is, from the standpoint of the poverty-stricken cultivators and the untouchables. His criticism of the present Indian government is precise and harsh. Nehru's first choice among obligations — to maintain order rather than spearhead a social revolution — seems to him a grievous and cowardly fallacy. But he likes the friendly people of India and in the end his temper is not that of despair. " I decided that with India as with the rest of the world, the worst, and the best, are still ahead."

In sharp contrast to John Muehl's style and insight stands the more dispassionate and scholarly volume written by Lawrence Rosinger. His "India and the United States" was prepared originally as one of the working papers for the Indo-American Conference held at New Delhi in December 1949.

Perhaps an attempt to summarize one section of his treatise will furnish a representative sample of Mr. Rosinger's level of thought. In the chapter which deals with India's foreign policy, he hazards a few generalizations regarding the prevailing attitudes of the sector of the Indian population which may be considered to be politically conscious. These leaders of opinion are motivated by (a) fear of another war, (b) belief in the necessity of industrialization combined with a distrust of foreign investors, (c) a bias in favor of the Anglo-American theory of government as contrasted with the prevailing Soviet theory, (d) a critical attitude toward American "free enterprise," and a corresponding feeling that England is now more liberal and progressive than the United States, (e) a high esteem among a small minority for Soviet technological and industrial achievements, and finally, (f) an abiding fear of imperialism and racism.

In addition to its careful interpretation of the factors which foreshadow future relationships between independent India and the United States, Mr. Rosinger's volume includes many pertinent facts about India as a new force in international affairs which should now become useful to all informed American citizens.

Eduard C. Lindeman
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